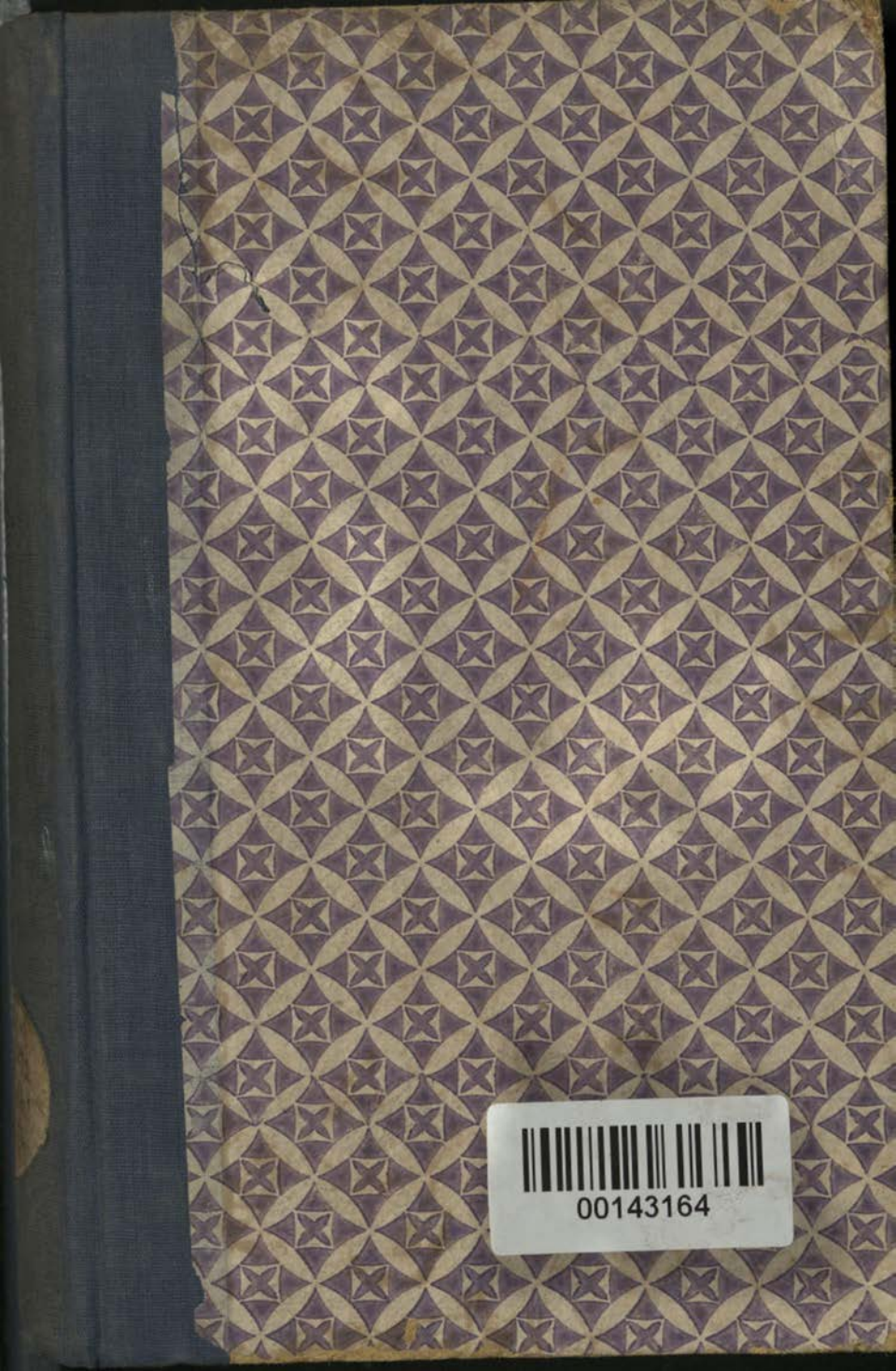

00143164

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-400 023.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016

THE

COLONIAL POLICY

OF

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S ADMINISTRATION.

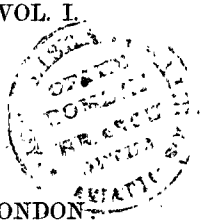
143164

BY EARL GREY.

RRA. J. 3

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1853.

00143164

PREFACE.

It is the object of the following Letters to give some account of the Colonial Policy of the Administration in which I held the office of Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. I have not attempted more than a very slight sketch of the transactions to which these pages relate, yet much more time and labour have been occupied in writing them than I anticipated when they were begun, chiefly, from my having found it necessary to examine minutely the voluminous papers laid before Parliament, from which the materials have been principally drawn. The completion of the task which I ventured to undertake has also been delayed by various interruptions from other avocations, so that

these pages will be published some months later than they were intended to appear.

I am sensible that this must somewhat detract from any value they may possess; for the progress of events is so rapid in the times in which we live, that even the delay of a few months has made more than one material change in the aspect of affairs, and my remarks will consequently be found in these cases to have reference to a state of things which has since been altered. Instead of attempting to correct what I had written, so as to make it correspond with more recent information, I have thought it better to affix to each of these Letters the date at which it was finished, and in reading them I would request that these dates may be borne in mind.

I have spoken of the Colonial Policy described in the following Letters as that of the Administration of which I was a member, because I conceive it to have been so both constitutionally and in fact; but I am far from desiring by this to diminish my own responsibility. Though the Secretary of State entrusted with the Department of the Colonies receives much assistance from his Colleagues, and though the most important measures which it is his duty to carry into effect ought to

be decided upon with their advice and concurrence, still the main responsibility for all errors that are committed properly rests with him.

Nor does any portion of this responsibility fall upon those by whose assistance the business of the Department is conducted. It has often been asserted that there is some mysterious influence within the walls of the Colonial Office, which under every different Secretary of State prevents what is right from being done, and causes disappointment and discontent to the Colonists, and persons connected with the Colonies, who have business to transact with the Department. Nothing can be more unfounded than such a notion. Those who have observed with attention the administration of Colonial affairs for the last five-and-twenty years will, I am persuaded, agree with me in thinking that it is much more justly chargeable with want of steadiness and consistency, from the inevitable differences in the views of successive Secretaries of State, than with an obstinate adherence under them all, to the same erroneous system. No doubt there are many demands urgently pressed upon the Department which have been successively rejected by different Secretaries of State; but this only shows that these demands are so unreasonable that

they are alike rejected by men of the most opposite political views, when they are required to decide upon them with full information and with official responsibility.

I am glad to have this opportunity of saying, that while I shall always feel most deeply indebted to the gentlemen holding permanent situations in the Colonial Office, for the exceedingly able and willing assistance I received from them in conducting its business while I presided over it, I can assert, in the most positive manner, that never upon any occasion was there on their part the slightest attempt improperly to influence my decision upon questions brought before me, or to withhold the best aid they could afford, in the execution of measures which may have been decided upon contrary to their opinion. Having mentioned the permanent members of the Colonial Office, I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of expressing my regard and esteem for those who were my Parliamentary Under-Secretaries. I should indeed be most ungrateful if I could ever forget how much I owe to Mr. Hawes for his unwearied assiduity, and the friendly zeal with which he shared with me, not only the ordinary labours of the Department, but the cares and anxieties of five most toilsome and

harassing Sessions of Parliament, during which I consulted him unreservedly upon every question that arose, and derived the greatest benefit from his advice and assistance. With Mr. Peel my official connection was very much shorter, having lasted only about four months; but this was quite long enough for me to form a very high opinion of his abilities, and to feel much indebted to him for the anxiety he displayed to give his best assistance in conducting the business of the Department, and in preparing to meet the anticipated difficulties of the Parliamentary campaign, which was so speedily cut short by the breaking up of the Administration.

I have nothing further to add in the way of Preface, except to call attention to what I have said in the concluding Letter of the series, as to the information I have thought it right to make use of. If I had felt justified in availing myself of information of a more confidential character, it would not have been difficult to make my account of some of the transactions referred to more complete than it is, and probably more interesting to the reader. It was however obviously my duty to abstain from disclosing information not already public, of which I had come into possession in the discharge of my duties as a Servant of the Crown;

and I trust that whatever may be the other faults of these Letters (and I am painfully sensible that they have many), they are at least free from that which would justly have been regarded as an unpardonable one—a departure from the reserve imposed upon me by the office I had the honour to fill.

DECEMBER 28, 1852.

CONTENTS.

Page

LETTER I.

COLONIAL POLICY.—PRELIMINARY REMARKS.—EFFECT OF FREE TRADE ON THE COLONIES 1

LETTER II.

THE SUGAR COLONIES GENERALLY 50

LETTER III.

MAURITIUS.—ST. LUCIA.—TRINIDAD 98

LETTER IV.

GUIANA.—JAMAICA.—BARBADOES 143

LETTER V.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—CANADA 200

LETTER VI.

LOWER PROVINCES OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—NEWFOUNDLAND 274

LETTER VII.

AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.—SALE OF LAND.—EMIGRATION 303

APPENDIX.

Page

A.—List of Officers appointed to the Government of Colonies, by Lord Grey 349

B.—Correspondence relative to the reduction of Military Force 353

C.—Recapitulation of Measures relating to the Sugar Colonies 367

D.—Tables of Import and Consumption of Sugar . . 390

E.—Mauritius—Address to Governor Higginson, and His Excellency's Reply 392

F.—British Guiana—Tables of Produce . . . 402

G.—Extracts from Reports of Select Committees, etc., relating to the West Indies 404

H.—Jamaica—Despatches to Sir C. Grey . . . 409

I.—Report of Privy Council—Constitution for the Australian Colonies 422

THE COLONIAL POLICY

OF

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S ADMINISTRATION.

LETTER I.

COLONIAL POLICY.—PRELIMINARY REMARKS.—EFFECT OF FREE TRADE ON THE COLONIES.

My dear Lord John,

The affairs of the Colonies have of late years been very largely discussed. The books, the pamphlets, and the speeches of which they have been the subject, have been almost innumerable; but of these even the few to which I should be the last to deny the praise of ability and fairness, advocate views which seem to me either incorrect or incomplete; while, as the rest have for the most part been designed to serve party or personal objects, they have been little calculated to assist the Public in forming a sound opinion on the questions to which they relate. No small proportion of what has been spoken or written about the Colonies for the last few years, has had for its aim to decry and to misrepresent the policy pursued towards them by the

Administration of which you were at the head; and as so large a share of the responsibility for the measures of that Government devolves upon myself, it is natural that I should wish the Public to have the means of knowing the real character and scope of those measures, and the grounds upon which they were adopted. Nor is this unimportant on grounds far higher than what concerns any individual: the national interest is deeply involved in having the course of Colonial administration correctly understood. In Parliament, or at least in the House of Lords, the debates which have taken place on Colonial affairs have been entirely confined to particular questions, affecting individual Colonies, and have never afforded me an opportunity of stating my views as to our general system of Colonial Policy, which, to be properly understood, requires to be considered as a whole; perhaps, also, the subject is too extensive for Parliamentary discussion. I propose therefore to endeavour in these pages to supply a deficiency which I conceive to exist, by laying before the Public a connected view of the Colonial policy which was pursued while I was entrusted with the task of conducting it, as a member of your Administration.

It has appeared to me that I shall be able to do this most conveniently in the form of a series of Letters, which I address to you, because you were acquainted, while they were in progress, with the transactions to which I shall have to advert, and will therefore be able to judge of the accuracy of my statements.

You cannot but take an interest in the subject, since all the most important of the measures of which I shall have to speak were, of course, adopted with your knowledge and assent; and I am happy to think that there has never been the slightest difference of opinion between us, as to the principles which ought to form the guide of our policy.

It is my intention to avoid, as far as possible, any notice of the various attacks made upon our measures, and of the misrepresentations to which we have been exposed. I shall do so, because it is my wish to give to these Letters a tone as little controversial as is consistent with the object I have in view, and also because the objections which have been made to our policy have been so multifarious and so contradictory, that an attempt to answer them all would be intolerably tedious. Hence, without adverting to the various speeches and pamphlets by which our Colonial administration has been assailed, I shall endeavour to give a general sketch of our policy, of the views on which it was founded, and of its results; leaving it to those who take an interest in the subject to draw their own conclusions, and noticing objections which have been made to our policy only when necessary for its elucidation. I fear that, even adopting this plan, it will be difficult to compress within a moderate compass a statement, however succinct, of what has been done in the numerous Colonies of the British Empire, with an explanation of the grounds on which we have acted; and that much which is not unimportant will

have to be omitted. The ample information laid before Parliament, to which I shall take care to refer, will however enable those who desire it, to obtain a more perfect knowledge of the transactions to which I shall advert.

Before I proceed to give an account of what has been done in particular Colonies, it will be convenient that I should state, somewhat fully, the general principles which have in all cases been the guide of our policy, and that I should call your attention to the manner in which the peculiar circumstances of the times have affected the administration of Colonial affairs. To begin with the last, I have to remark that in these affairs much of the opposition we have met with, and the principal difficulties we have encountered, have arisen, directly or indirectly, from our having thought it our duty to maintain the policy of free trade, and to extend its application to the produce of the Colonies. That these difficulties must be expected from this policy I was quite aware when your Government was formed; but the greatest service that I believed we were called upon as a Government to render to the country was that of completing the work, which had been happily begun, of removing restrictions from industry, and securely establishing a system of free trade throughout the empire. So far back as when I first entered upon public life,—now more than twenty-five years ago,—it was my conviction that, next to the removal of the religious disabilities which then threatened the disruption of the Empire, and to the accomplishment

of such a reform of the House of Commons as was requisite to make it a fitting instrument for effecting every other public improvement, the political object of the greatest importance to the public good was to relieve industry and commerce from the shackles with which they had been encumbered by measures adopted for their advancement under the erroneous theory of "Protection." Hence, beginning with the year 1827, when I voted with a very small minority against the principle of the sliding scale, in the Bill for the amendment of the Corn Laws brought forward by Mr. Canning, I had, both by votes and speeches, supported every proposal submitted to the House of Parliament of which I was a Member, which I considered to be calculated to advance the object of giving greater freedom to industry. I believed that the Colonial trade ought to form no exception to the general rule, but should be placed on the same footing as other branches of our commerce. I considered it to be no less for the real and permanent interest of the Colonies themselves, than for that of the Mother-country, that industry should cease to be diverted from its natural channels, and a useless burden to be imposed on the consumer by differential duties, levied for the purpose of favouring Colonial produce in our markets, and our produce in the markets of the Colonies.

Entertaining these opinions, I should not have accepted your proposal to form part of your Administration, if I had not felt satisfied that its measures would

be directed to the completion of the work of commercial reform, and had I not expected that, notwithstanding the difficulties I anticipated, we should be supported in this policy by Parliament.

In that expectation I have not been disappointed. By the measures which we have succeeded in carrying, for the alteration of the duties on sugar, coffee, and timber, for the repeal of the Navigation Laws, and for giving power to the local Legislatures to abolish differential duties in the Colonies, provision has been made for placing the Colonial trade on a footing free from serious objection; while the accomplishment, at no very distant period, of the further improvements it still requires has obviously been ensured.

These measures, necessary and beneficial as I am convinced they will ultimately be admitted to have been, amounted however to nothing less than a revolution in an established system of policy, which could not fail to shock many long received opinions, and to bring about a great change in the relations hitherto subsisting between this country and the Colonies. For more than two centuries, the great object of all European nations, in seeking to obtain possession of Colonies, was the gain supposed to accrue from the monopoly of their commerce, which it was the practice for the parent State to maintain, while, on the other hand, it gave to their produce a preference in its own markets. This policy began to be relaxed by Parliament immediately after the American Revo-

lution (of which calamity it was, in truth, the chief cause); but, although the views on which it is founded had been considerably modified, the principle of placing the trade with the Colonies on a different footing from that with other countries had been maintained up to the year 1846, and was generally regarded as one of unquestionable propriety and wisdom. So much was this the case, that in the beginning of Sir Robert Peel's commercial reforms, the tariff of 1842, as originally submitted to the House of Commons, contained provisions by which various new protected interests would have been created in the Colonies, and a large revenue would have been sacrificed by the Mother-country, without any real benefit accruing to them. Amongst other articles proposed to be dealt with were tea and tobacco, on which it was intended to reduce one half the amount of duty to which they would otherwise be liable when they were the produce of British possessions. It so happens that I was myself the person by whom the attention of the House of Commons (of which I was then a Member) was called to the inexpediency of this mode of dealing with the customs-duties; and I moved a resolution against the establishment of any new protecting duties in favour of Colonial produce*, arguing that, in order to derive a revenue from duties on imports without imposing an undue burden on the consumer, and without diverting industry from its natural and therefore most productive channels, duties

* See Hansard, 3rd series, vol. lxxiii. p. 512.

ought not to be levied on the importation of any articles which would meet in our market articles of the same kind produced in the Colonies, and not subject to an equal amount of taxation.

This principle, which is equally applicable to articles produced at home and to those obtained from the Colonies,* is now recognized as sound by the

* It is obvious that, if any article of consumption is subject to a duty when imported from a foreign country, and is either free from duty or pays a lower duty when produced at home or imported from a Colony, the result, whether intended or not, is to give that artificial encouragement to a particular branch of industry which is known by the name of Protection. For this reason, by our present law, beet-root sugar produced at home is subject to an excise-duty equal to that on sugar imported from the Colonies, and which in two years more will also be charged on foreign sugar. Hence, it was a fallacy to contend, as was done in 1842 and in 1843, (if I remember right, the argument, which had much effect at the time, was first used by Mr. Gladstone,) that imports from the Colonies ought to be relieved from duty because they should be considered as "an integral part of the Empire." Though an integral part of the Empire, it is, from the nature of things, impossible that they should be under the same fiscal system as ourselves; and unless they could be so—that is, unless they paid all the same taxes that we do, and these taxes included excise-duties on all articles on which we raise a revenue, and which they produce—no special exemption from duty could be given to Colonial produce in our ports without incurring all the objectionable consequences of a system of protection. In the United States, free commercial intercourse between the several States of the Union would have led to the utmost confusion, if the power of levying customs-duties had not been given exclusively to Congress, excise-duties not being made use of as a mode of raising revenue. It does not appear to me at all inconsistent with the idea of the unity of the British Empire, that no attempt has been made to unite its several members, divided as they are from each other by the diameter of the globe, in one fiscal system.

majority of intelligent and educated men; but this was far from being the case until very recently, and it was so much otherwise at the time of which I am speaking, that, although in the resolution I moved I abstained from proposing to abolish existing protecting duties in favour of the Colonies, and only sought to lay down the rule that no new ones should be created, the motion was rejected, obtaining the support of a minority far below the usual strength of the Opposition; and in the tariff of 1842 the erroneous principle I had endeavoured to condemn was adhered to, the Government only abandoning its application in those cases in which it would have seriously affected the revenue. I refer to this circumstance, because it shows how strong was the hold on men's minds of the old opinions respecting the Colonial trade, and how great was the shock given to these opinions, when the policy of placing our trade with the Colonies on the same footing as that with foreign countries was first systematically adopted in Sir Robert Peel's Act for the repeal of the former Corn Law, and in the measures which followed it. This accounts for the great bitterness of the political discontent and opposition to your Government excited by these measures. It is notorious that distress is usually the parent of political discontent, even when that distress cannot be referred by the sufferers themselves to the conduct of the Government; much more so, when they believe their difficulties to have been occasioned by its measures. But the abandonment of long esta-

blished commercial and fiscal regulations, however vicious in policy, generally occasions temporary loss and inconvenience to those engaged in the branches of trade and industry affected by such changes; and if they do not occasion actual loss, these changes invariably excite the apprehension of it, which is nearly as bad. Hence reforms of this description are always found to create many enemies to the Government by which they are accomplished; and in the application of the principles of free trade to Colonial produce, the hostility thus excited was aggravated by its being thought, however unreasonably, that these measures involved an act of injustice, as invading what had long been regarded as a right on the part of the Colonists.

Nor is this all; the abandonment of the ancient commercial system of this country towards the Colonies brought a still larger question under discussion. Not only those who still adhered to the opinion that the former policy with respect to colonial commerce was the right one, but many of the most eager advocates of the principles of free trade, concurred in arguing that, if the Colonies were no longer to be regarded as valuable on account of the commercial advantages to be derived from their possession, the country had no interest in keeping these dependencies, and that it would be better to abandon them; thus getting rid of the heavy charge on the country, especially in providing the requisite amount of naval and military force for their protection. In like manner, the Colonists

began to inquire whether, if they were no longer to enjoy their former commercial privileges in the markets of the Mother-country, they derived any real benefit from a continuance of the connection. It is obvious that questions of this kind could not be raised without creating great difficulties in the administration of Colonial affairs, and the more so, because it is impossible to deny that the view of the subject to which I have adverted is at least plausible; and when the old doctrine, that the great value of Colonies arises from the commercial monopoly which the Mother-country can claim with respect to their trade is abandoned, some other explanation may fairly be asked of the grounds on which we should nevertheless continue to support the charges inseparable from the maintenance of our Colonial empire.

Although it would be impossible, within the limits to which I must confine myself, fully to discuss in this Letter so large a subject, it is requisite, for the clearness of what is to follow, that I should state generally why, and on what terms, I think that the connection between this country and the Colonies ought to be preserved, and also that I should explain how these views have been applied in practice. I consider, then, that the British Colonial Empire ought to be maintained, principally because I do not consider that the Nation would be justified in throwing off the responsibility it has incurred by the acquisition of this dominion, and because I believe that much of the power and influence of this Country

depends upon its having large Colonial possessions in different parts of the world.

The possession of a number of steady and faithful allies, in various quarters of the globe, will surely be admitted to add greatly to the strength of any nation; while no alliance between independent states can be so close and intimate as the connection which unites the Colonies to the United Kingdom as parts of the Great British Empire. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that the power of a nation does not depend merely on the amount of physical force it can command, but rests, in no small degree, upon opinion and moral influence: in this respect British power would be diminished by the loss of our Colonies, to a degree which it would be difficult to estimate. Hence, if it is an advantage, not for the sake of domineering over other countries but with a view to our own security, to form part of a powerful nation rather than of a weak one (and, considering the many examples we have seen of the injustice to which weak ones are compelled to submit, this can hardly admit of a question), it seems to follow, that the tie which binds together all the different and distant portions of the British Empire, so that their united strength may be wielded for their common protection, must be regarded as an object of extreme importance to the interests of the Mother-country and her dependencies. To the latter it is no doubt of far greater importance than to the former, because, while still forming comparatively small and weak communities, they enjoy, in return for their

allegiance to the British Crown, all the security and consideration which belong to them as members of one of the most powerful States in the world. No foreign Power ventures to attack or interfere with the smallest of them, while every Colonist carries with him, to the remotest quarters of the globe which he may visit in trading or other pursuits, that protection which the character of a British subject everywhere confers, and can depend, in any difficulties, or under any oppression to which he may be exposed, on the assistance of Her Majesty's diplomatic and consular servants, supported, if necessary, by the whole power of the Empire.

But I should regard it as a very unworthy mode of considering this subject, if it were to be looked at with a view only to the interests of this Country, as that word is usually understood. I conceive that, by the acquisition of its Colonial dominions, the Nation has incurred a responsibility of the highest kind, which it is not at liberty to throw off. The authority of the British Crown is at this moment the most powerful instrument, under Providence, of maintaining peace and order in many extensive regions of the earth, and thereby assists in diffusing amongst millions of the human race, the blessings of Christianity and civilization. Supposing it were clear (which I am far from admitting) that a reduction of our national expenditure (otherwise impracticable), to the extent of a few hundred thousands a year, could be effected by withdrawing our authority and protection from our nume-

rous Colonies, should we be justified, for the sake of such a saving, in taking this step, and thus abandoning the duty which seems to have been cast upon us?

It is to be remembered, that if we adopted this policy we must be prepared for very serious consequences, which would undoubtedly result from it. Some few only of these I will mention. No one acquainted with the actual state of society in the West India islands, and the feelings prevalent among the different classes of their inhabitants, can doubt that, if they were left, unaided by us, to settle amongst themselves in whose hands power should be placed, a fearful war of colour would probably soon break out, by which the germs of improvement now existing there would be destroyed, and civilization would be thrown back for centuries. In Ceylon a similar result would follow; its native races are utterly incapable of governing themselves, and yet they certainly would not submit to be ruled by the mere handful of Europeans who have settled among them, if this small body were unsupported by British power. The great wealth which within the last few years has been created in this island would be destroyed, and the most hopeless anarchy would take place of that security which now exists, and under the shelter of which such promising signs of improvement are beginning to appear. Even in New Zealand, although I have little doubt that the Colonists of European descent would be found capable of establishing a government, under which they might eventually rise to prosperity, yet we could scarcely

hope to see this effected without a series of contests with the native inhabitants, in which the latter would in the end be destroyed, but not until they had inflicted and suffered an almost equal amount of misery. On the West Coast of Africa there is at this moment a far more encouraging prospect than at any previous time; the efforts which have been so long made to improve the negro race seem to be at length beginning to produce important results, and a great change for the better may be looked for. But if we take up a new policy, and abandon our positions on the African coast, the Slave Trade will again revive in the extensive territory within reach of our settlements, where it has now been extirpated, and has given place to a legitimate commerce, which is daily becoming more important.

To say nothing of higher motives, and of the duty which I conceive to be no less obligatory upon nations than upon individuals, of using the power and the advantages entrusted to them by Providence to advance the welfare of mankind, I would ask whether, even in mere money, there would not be something to set off against the saving of expense from the abandonment of our Colonies? On the other side of the account we have to put the destruction of British property which would thus be occasioned, and the annihilation of lucrative branches of our commerce, by allowing anarchy and bloodshed to arrest the peaceful industry which now creates the means of paying for the British goods consumed daily in larger quantities, by

the numerous and various populations now emerging from barbarism under our protection.

It is true there are several of our Colonies to which the last observations do not directly apply; but the policy of abandoning a part of our Colonial Empire could scarcely be adopted, without giving so great a shock to the feeling of confidence and security in the remainder, as greatly to increase the difficulty of maintaining it; and I must add, that it appears to me very doubtful whether even the Colonies most capable of governing themselves, and which have no uncivilized tribes to deal with, from whom any danger could be apprehended, would not for some time have much difficulty in maintaining their present state of tranquillity and security, both externally and internally, if their connection with the Mother-country were suddenly dissolved.

In New South Wales, for instance, the interference of the Home Government in the internal administration of the Colony is exceedingly slight; but, slight as it is, it may be questioned whether, without it, the conflict of interests and opinions between different classes of the inhabitants and between different districts would not be likely to lead to very dangerous struggles; while in their relations with each other it would be still more likely that the different Australian Colonies would be involved in difficulties, if they ceased to be all placed under the supreme authority of the Imperial Government.

I have thought it necessary to state thus strongly my

dissent from the views of those who wish to dismember the British Empire by abandoning the Colonies, because it is impossible not to observe that this policy—unworthy of a great Nation, and unwise as I consider it to be—is not only openly advocated by one active party in the country, but is also hardly less effectually supported by persons occupying an important position in Parliament, and who, while they hesitate to avow their adherence to it, hold language which obviously leads in the same direction, and advocate measures the adoption of which would inevitably bring about this result.

If the reasons which I have just stated for maintaining the connection between this Country and the British Colonies are admitted to be sound, it will follow as a necessary inference, that two very plain rules as to the terms on which that connection should be continued may be laid down. In the first place, I think it will clearly follow that this Country has no interest whatever in exercising any greater influence in the internal affairs of the Colonies, than is indispensable either for the purpose of preventing any one Colony from adopting measures injurious to another, or to the Empire at large; or else for the promotion of the internal good government of the Colonies, by assisting the inhabitants to govern themselves when sufficiently civilized to do so with advantage, and by providing a just and impartial administration for those of which the population is too ignorant and unenlightened to manage its own affairs. While

it was our policy to maintain a monopoly of the trade of the Colonies, it was necessary for the Home Government to exercise a considerable control over their internal administration, because otherwise this monopoly would certainly have been evaded; and accordingly it will be found, on looking back at the earlier history of our Colonies, (especially those which now constitute the United States,) that the interference of the servants of the Crown in their internal affairs, and the differences which that interference occasioned, arose almost entirely from the endeavour to uphold the commercial system then in force. The abandonment of that system has removed the necessity for this interference. Secondly, I think it will follow, that when this Country no longer attempts either to levy a commercial tribute from the Colonies by a system of restriction, nor to interfere needlessly in their internal affairs, it has a right to expect that they should take upon themselves a larger proportion than heretofore of the expenses incurred for their advantage.

In subsequent Letters I shall endeavour to show, with reference to the transactions of the several Colonies, that these rules were strictly adhered to while I held the office of Secretary of State; but before I do this, it will be convenient that I should offer some further general remarks upon the rules themselves, and the manner in which they have been acted upon. And first I would observe, with regard to the vague declamation on the absurdity of attempting to govern the Colonies from Downing-street, of which we have

heard so much, that it would undoubtedly be in the highest degree absurd to attempt to govern from Downing-street, if this is to be understood in the sense of directing from thence all the measures of the local Authorities; but I am not aware that such an attempt has at any period of our history been thought of. On the other hand, it is obvious that, if the Colonies are not to become independent States, some kind of authority must be exercised by the Government at home. It will conduce to a clearer understanding of the subject, to consider by what means any control over its dependencies is now practically maintained by the Mother-country, and to what extent that control ought to be carried.

The authority of the Home Government over the Colonies is exercised mainly in two ways; first by the appointment of Governors, and secondly by sanctioning or disallowing the measures of the local Governments, of which these officers are at the head. It is also exercised sometimes, but much more rarely, by prescribing measures for their adoption. With regard to the selection of Governors, though I am aware that a contrary opinion has sometimes been expressed, it appears to me clear that, if we are to have Colonies at all, the appointment of their Governors must necessarily be retained by the Crown, since I do not perceive by what other means any real authority or control could be exercised over the executive government of the Colonies by the advisers of the Crown. But though the Governors of Colonies ought in my

opinion always to be named by the Crown, (and, looking to the consequences of Presidential elections in the United States, I believe that the advantage to the Colonies of having persons entirely unconnected with local parties, thus appointed to these situations, cannot easily be over-rated), the nature and extent of the powers entrusted to the Governors, and consequently the character of the Colonial Governments, must differ widely in different cases. In the Settlements on the west coast of Africa, the Governors substantially exercise both executive and legislative authority, limited only by an appeal to the Home Government. In Canada, a representative Assembly has not only the chief power of legislation, but also virtually a large share of executive authority, since the members of the Executive Council are required to possess its confidence. Between these two extremes there are many intermediate degrees, of more or less power being exercised by the Governors of different Colonies.

The degree of control to be exercised over the local Authorities by the Secretary of State, as the organ of the Home Government, ought obviously to depend very much on the greater or less amount of power with which the Governors of different Colonies are invested. In a colony like Canada, where representative institutions have attained their full development, and the Governor is aided in his administrative duties by Ministers who are required to possess the confidence of the Legislature, exceedingly little interference

on the part of the Government at home seems to be required. In Colonies where this system of government is in successful operation, the Home Government should, in my opinion, attempt little (except in those rare cases where Imperial interests or the honour of the Crown are affected by local measures or proceedings), beyond advising the Colonial Authorities, and checking, so as to give an opportunity for further reflection, any ill-considered and hasty measures they may be inclined to adopt. Practically I believe that the influence which can thus be exercised through a judicious Governor is very considerable, and may be of great service to the Colonies. In the strife of parties which prevails in all free governments, the existence of an impartial authority serves to check the too great violence with which political contests are sometimes carried on, and the experience and position of a Minister of the Crown in this country enable him frequently to offer useful advice to the Colonial Legislatures. There are other Colonies in which representative institutions exist, but in a form suited to a less advanced stage of society, and where the Governor consequently is called upon to exercise considerably more power than under the system to which I have just adverted; and there are other Colonies again in which no such institutions yet exist.

In proportion as Governors are more independent of any local control, it becomes necessary that some should be exercised over them from home; and in those Colonies where they are unchecked by any

kind of representative institutions, it is the duty of the Secretary of State to maintain a vigilant superintendence over their proceedings. Although he ought, as I conceive, to abstain from any meddling interference in the details of their administration, and to support their authority so long as they appear to deserve his confidence,—and rather to advise their recall when they cease to do so, than to fetter their discretion by detailed instructions, —he is yet bound to attend to complaints which may be made against their measures, and to prescribe for their guidance the general line of policy to be pursued. .

These rules, as to the degree of interference to be exercised by the Secretary of State, are equally applicable to the legislative and executive measures of the local Authorities in the Colonies; but while I am of opinion that the authority of the Crown, of which the Secretary of State is the depositary, should be used in all cases with great caution, and in Colonies possessing representative institutions with extreme forbearance, I cannot concur with those who would prohibit all interference on the part of the Home Government in the internal affairs of the Colonies. It seems to have been overlooked, by those who insist that such interference must always be improper, and who would adopt without any qualification the rule that the Colonies should be left to govern themselves, that this would in some cases imply leaving a dominant party, perhaps even a dominant minority, to

govern the rest of the community without check or control.

To permit the government of a distant Colony to be so carried on, notwithstanding the oppression or corruption which might be known to exist, would in general be for the ease and advantage of the Ministers of the day, but would not be consistent with any but a very low view of the duties belonging to the responsible advisers of the Sovereign of this great Empire. In point of fact, it has not unfrequently happened, that the absence of difficulty in some parts of our Colonial administration has arisen, not from its merits, but from its faults. For instance, so long as the Home Government took no thought of the condition of the Negro population of the West Indies, it met with no opposition from the Assemblies of Jamaica and the other West Indian Colonies; but when, urged on by public opinion in this Country and by the House of Commons, the Government undertook to give effect first to the resolutions of 1823, for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, and ultimately to the Act of Emancipation, it found itself placed in a position of antagonism to the dominant class in these Colonies, the difficulties arising from which are not yet by any means at an end. Yet it was clearly the duty of the Imperial Government not to leave the population of these Colonies to the unrestricted disposal of the local Governments, and in this respect at least the discontent engendered by the interference of the Home Government was the discon-

tent of the dominant few (who can alone make themselves heard in this Country) at interference exercised for the protection of the helpless and ignorant many. Even now, in the former Slave Colonies which possess representative institutions, the body of the population does not practically exercise such an influence in the Assemblies as to exempt the advisers of the Crown from the duty of keeping a watchful eye upon the proceedings of the Legislatures, for the purpose of checking any attempts which might be made to pass laws bearing unfairly on the labouring classes.

But even where the interference of the Home Government is not necessary for the protection of a part of the population, too ignorant or too weak to protect itself, there is another consideration, which may require the exercise of some control over the proceedings of the local Governments with regard to the internal affairs of the Colonies. Every act of these Governments, whether legislative or executive, is done in the name and by the authority of the Sovereign; hence the honour of the Crown, which it is of the highest importance to the whole Empire to maintain unimpaired, must be compromised by any injustice or violation of good faith, which it has the power to prevent, being committed by the local Authorities. It is therefore the duty of those by whom the Imperial Government is conducted, and to whom, as the responsible servants of the Crown, its honour is entrusted, to take care that this honour does not suffer by the Sovereign's being made a party to proceedings in-

volving a departure from the most scrupulous justice and good faith towards individuals, or towards particular classes of the inhabitants of any of our Colonies.

In the Colonies which are the most advanced in civilization and in the exercise of the powers of self-government, it is not superfluous to insist on this consideration: on the contrary, it is in Colonies having popular forms of government that there is perhaps most danger that, in the excitement of party contests, to which such governments are peculiarly liable, measures not consistent with strict justice may sometimes be attempted, and may require to be checked by the authority of the Crown, entrusted to the Secretary of State. Any interference on the part of that Minister with measures of purely internal administration in the Colonies to which I am now adverting, is to be deprecated, except in very special circumstances, the occurrence of which must be exceedingly rare; but I am convinced that it may sometimes be called for, and that it is therefore expedient to trust, for averting the evils and the dangers which must arise from an improper interference by the Home Government with the local administration, rather to the discretion with which the powers now vested in the Crown are exercised, than to a limitation of these powers by new legal restrictions. In particular, I should regard it as in the highest degree unadvisable to adopt the proposal that has been made to take away, so far as regards certain classes of laws, the general power which the Crown now possesses of disallowing all acts

or ordinances passed by the Colonial Legislatures. I shall have to advert to this question hereafter, with reference to New South Wales; I will therefore abstain from considering it more particularly at present.

I have little doubt that the propriety of regulating the amount of control to be exercised by the Secretary of State over the measures of the local Authorities, by the greater or less infusion of popular power in the constitutions of the several Colonies, will be generally recognized; it remains to be considered what steps ought to be taken for the establishment of representative institutions where they do not now exist, or for improving them where they exist only in an imperfect form. On this head also I think there can be little difficulty in determining the principles which ought to be acted upon, although there will be a good deal more in their practical application.

Keeping steadily in view that the welfare and civilization of the inhabitants of the Colonies, and the advantage which the Empire at large may derive from their prosperity, are the only objects for which the retention of these dependencies is desirable, and believing also that there can be no doubt as to the superiority of free governments to those of an opposite character, as instruments for promoting the advancement of communities in which they can be made to work with success, I consider it to be the obvious duty and interest of this Country to extend representative institutions to every one of its dependencies where they have not yet been established, and where this can

be done with safety; and also to take every opportunity of giving increased development to such institutions where they already exist but in an imperfect form. But I believe that in some cases representative governments could not safely be created, and also that the same form of representative institutions is by no means applicable to Colonies in different stages of social progress. The principal bar to the establishment of representative governments in Colonies, is their being inhabited by a population of which a large proportion is not of European race, and has not made such progress in civilization as to be capable of exercising with advantage the privileges of self-government.

Of such Colonies Ceylon affords the best example. The great majority of its inhabitants are Asiatics, very low in the scale of civilization, and having the character and habits of mind which have from the earliest times prevented popular governments from taking root, and flourishing among the nations of the East. Amidst a large population of this description there are settled, for the most part as temporary residents engaged in commerce or agriculture, a mere handful of Europeans, and a larger number (but still very few in comparison with the whole population) of inhabitants of a mixed race. In such a Colony the establishment of representative institutions would be in the highest degree inexpedient. If they were established in such a form as to confer power upon the great body of the people, it must be

obvious that the experiment would be attended with great danger, or rather with the certainty of failure. If, on the other hand, the system of representation were so contrived as to exclude the bulk of the native population from real power, in order to vest it in the hands of the European minority, an exceedingly narrow oligarchy would be created,—a form of government which experience certainly does not show to be favourable to the welfare of the governed. Were a representative Assembly constituted in Ceylon, which should possess the powers usually entrusted to such a body, and in which the European merchants and planters and their agents had the ascendency, it can hardly be supposed that narrow views of class interests would not exercise greater influence in the legislation of the Colony than a comprehensive consideration of the general good. To anticipate that this would be the effect of placing a large measure of power in the hands of a small minority, implies no unfavourable opinion of the character and intelligence of the European inhabitants of Ceylon, but only a belief that they would act as men placed in such a situation have generally been found to do.

In Mauritius, Trinidad, St. Lucia and Natal, a somewhat similar state of things exists; for although the preponderance of the uncivilized races in these Colonies is far less overwhelming than in Ceylon, still, taking into account the immigrants from India and Africa (whose welfare is entitled to especial consideration), the inhabitants of European origin are but a fraction of the whole population. Hence it appears to me, that the

surrender of a large portion of the powers now exercised by the servants of the Crown, and the establishment of representative Legislatures, would not be calculated to ensure the administration of the government upon principles of justice, and of an enlightened regard for the welfare of all classes in these communities. This end may, I believe, be far better attained by maintaining for the present in these Colonies the existing system of government, of which it would be a great mistake to suppose that, because the inhabitants are not entitled to elect any of the members of the Legislatures, it provides no securities against abuse. Other influences are brought to bear upon the government of these Colonies, which answer many of the objects of a Legislature of a representative character.

In the first place, in all of them the Press is perfectly free; the newspapers comment upon all the measures of the Government, not only with entire liberty, but with the most unbounded license; and the force both of local opinion, and also to a considerable degree of opinion in this country, is thus brought to bear upon all the measures of the Administration. Every inhabitant of the Colonies is also entitled freely to address to the Secretary of State any complaints or remarks he may think proper on the measures of the local Authorities, subject only to the rule that such letters shall be transmitted through the hands of the Governor (who is bound to forward them), in order that he may at the same time send such explanations on the subject as appear to him to be called for. This privilege is largely

exercised, and is the means of supplying much useful information. It is hence impossible that the Secretary of State can be kept in ignorance of any errors or abuses committed by the local Authorities, while, if he fails to interfere when he ought, he cannot himself escape the censure of Parliament. The greatly increased facilities of intercourse with the Colonies have of late years effected a great practical alteration in the position of Colonial Governors; and, whatever may have been the case formerly, it undoubtedly cannot be alleged that Parliament is now indifferent to what goes on in the Colonies, or that faults, real or imaginary, which may be committed in the administration of their affairs, can hope to escape the ever-ready criticism of an Opposition eager to find matter for objections to the Government of the day. Perhaps some persons may think that this disposition has been carried too far for the real interest of the Colonies.

In these Colonies there exist also Legislative Councils consisting partly of persons filling the chief offices of the Government, partly of some of the principal inhabitants, who, though named to their seats in the Legislature by the authority of the Crown, and not by popular election, are yet in the habit of acting with great freedom, and practically express to a considerable extent the opinion of the class to which they belong. It was my object, while I held the seals of the Colonial department, without relinquishing the power possessed by the Crown, gradually to bring these legislative bodies more under the influence of the

opinion of the intelligent and educated inhabitants of these Colonies. With this view, in one or two cases, the proportion of unofficial to official members was augmented, and the practice was everywhere introduced of requiring the whole expenditure to be provided for by ordinances discussed and passed by the Legislative Council; these ordinances being founded on estimates prepared and submitted to the Legislature by the Governor, and published for general information. In general the fixed establishment of the Colonial Governments is provided for by permanent laws, and that part of the expenditure which is of a more fluctuating character, by Ordinances passed annually, every charge on the Colonial revenue being required to have, in one form or the other, the sanction of the Legislature. This regulation was adopted, under my instructions, in all the Colonies to which I am now referring, in place of the very lax and irregular practice previously prevailing in some of them, by which the only authority for a large proportion of their expenditure consisted of instructions given by the Secretary of State, with the concurrence of the Treasury. The publicity given to the estimates and accounts of the Colonial expenditure, and the rule that, except in cases of great emergency, the drafts of all proposed ordinances should be published before being passed, have enabled the Colonists to bring under the consideration of the Governors and the Legislative Councils, and ultimately of the Secretary of State, any objections they have entertained to proposed ordinances or

financial arrangements. Every encouragement has been given to them to make known their opinions freely, both to the local and Home Governments; and the most careful consideration has been given to their views, especially when these have been stated by chambers of commerce or municipal bodies, the advice and assistance of which, in the administration of Colonial affairs, are in my judgement of the highest value.

These are as effective securities as in the present state of these Colonies I believe to be attainable, for ensuring their good government; but I conceive, that gradually to prepare them for a more popular system of government ought to be one of the principal objects of the policy adopted towards them, and it is one of which I never lost sight. It was more particularly with this view that I endeavoured, whenever practicable, to create a system of Municipal organization, entertaining a strong conviction that the exercise of the powers usually entrusted to municipal bodies is the best training that a population can have for the right use of a larger measure of political power.

With regard to Colonies which already possess representative institutions, I have observed above that the form of these institutions varies very much in different cases. In Canada and the neighbouring provinces the system of government has, within the last few years, been assimilated as nearly as possible to that which prevails in this Country, Ex-

ecutive Councils having (as I have already mentioned) been established, composed of persons holding their offices only while they possess the confidence of the Assemblies, and the administration of the government being carried on by their assistance. In the other Colonies the representative bodies do not generally participate so directly, and in some scarcely at all, in the exercise of any power but that of legislation. When I come to treat of the affairs of particular Colonies, I shall have to notice the more important peculiarities in their Constitutions, and the reasons for allowing those peculiarities to continue: for the present I will confine myself to some general remarks, on the inexpediency of adopting the suggestion which has sometimes been made, that the system of government in all the Colonies possessing representative institutions should be assimilated to that which now exists in Canada.

The system now established in Canada is that of Parliamentary Government, that is to say government by means of parties. This form of government is now working well in that and the neighbouring provinces, and is probably on the whole the best plan hitherto adopted of enabling a Colony in an advanced stage of its social progress to exercise the privilege of self-government; it may therefore be regarded as the form which representative institutions, when they acquire their full development, are likely to take in the British Colonies. The experience however of our own Country, in which this system of government

has so long flourished, may teach us that its advantages are by no means unmixed, even in communities the best adapted to it, but that there are considerable drawbacks to the benefits we derive from it. We know also that hitherto Parliamentary government has not been carried into successful operation for any considerable time, in any other country in the world but our own, and that it is little more than ten years since it was first attempted in any of our Colonies, while in none of them can it be said to have been brought into full operation until far more recently. Even this short experience of its working in the Colonies, would seem to show that it is suitable only to a community which is not a very small one, to a population in an advanced stage of civilization, which has had the advantage of some training by the working of a free constitution of a simpler kind, and, I should be inclined to add, in which Municipal institutions exist, capable of dividing with the Legislature the very large powers which it would engross, if in the absence of such institutions the representatives of the people had a virtual control over the appointment of the executive officers of the government.

In a small community the successful working of this system of government is rendered difficult, by the necessarily restricted number of members of the Legislature, and of persons qualified by their intelligence and education to fill the principal offices of the government, and at the same time in possession of sufficient means to devote their time to the public

service, without adopting such employment as a permanent profession. Where the popular branch of the Legislature necessarily consists of only a small number of members, the increased importance which attaches to individual votes greatly increases the danger of those abuses to which party government is always liable, as will readily be understood by those who have observed the effect produced in this Country by a nearly equal division of parties. Even in the Assembly of Canada, although a numerous body, compared to most Colonial assemblies, it has been remarked that its great inferiority in numbers to the House of Commons has a decided and injurious effect upon its adaptation to the system of government now in force in that Colony. The want of a sufficient number of persons possessing the leisure and competence requisite to enable them to give up their time to the public service without adopting it as a profession, is even a greater difficulty in the way of the adoption in a small society of what has been called in the Colonies "responsible," but what may more properly be termed "party" or "parliamentary," government. Where the persons capable of holding office are very few, party contests have a tendency to run into extreme and dangerous bitterness. It may be questioned whether these considerations have been sufficiently attended to, and whether, in one at least of the North American Colonies, the inhabitants have not required prematurely the establishment of a system of

government for which they are not yet sufficiently prepared.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that the peculiar form of government to which the above remarks apply is by no means necessary for the enjoyment, by a Colony, of the advantages of a free government. If a representative Legislature exists, the people not only possess the power through their representatives of determining all questions relating to legislation, the imposition of taxes, and the expenditure of the public money, but they have likewise the means of expressing their opinion, in a manner which makes it certain that it will not be neglected, on the administration of the executive government. In those earlier days of our Colonial history, to which it is now so much the fashion to look for an example to be followed, these were the only securities for good government; and there can be no doubt that they are now far more effective than in those times, in consequence of the altered state of public opinion in this Country on such subjects, and of the increased facilities which now exist for bringing before Parliament any grievances of which the Colonists may have to complain. Nor is it immaterial to observe, that, even in the United States of America, Congress does not possess any such direct control over the executive government as that which is exercised by the Legislatures of Colonies in which Parliamentary government is established; and the President during the term of his office exercises an authority far larger, and far less subject to any check

against abuse, than that which is vested in the Governor of a British Colony possessing a Representative Legislature. It is true that the President is elected by the people he is to govern, whereas the Governor of a British Colony is appointed by the Crown; but as the election of the President renders him in fact the nominee of a party, and creates many temptations for the exercise of the great power he possesses for mere party purposes, it may not unreasonably be questioned whether even greater securities are not required against its abuse, than are necessary in the case of a Governor entirely unconnected with all local parties, and who has the strongest interest in administering the affairs of the Colony entrusted to his charge with fairness, and in such a manner as to give general satisfaction to the inhabitants.

These observations on the general principles which ought to govern our Colonial Administration would be incomplete, without adding some remarks upon the important subject of Patronage. It is commonly believed, that one of the principal objects for which the Colonies are retained is the patronage which they are supposed to afford. It is impossible to conceive a greater delusion. It is now many years since the Colonies have afforded to the Home Government any patronage which can be of value to it as a means of influence in domestic politics. Since Parliament has ceased to provide, except in a very few special cases, for any part of the expense of the civil government of the Colonies, the Colonists have naturally expected

that offices paid for by themselves should be filled up by the selection of persons from their own body, when this can be done without inconvenience. Accordingly offices in the Colonies have, for a considerable time, been for the most part practically disposed of by the Governors. It is true that these offices, when their value exceeds £200 a year, are in general nominally at the disposal of the Secretary of State, and, when vacancies occur, can only be filled up by the Governors, subject to the confirmation of the Crown signified by that Minister. But in the great majority of cases the recommendation of the Governors is accepted as a matter of course; the patronage therefore is in effect exercised by them, and offices are filled up by the appointment of Colonists.

This practice prevails more or less completely in different Colonies according to circumstances. In the North American Colonies appointments may be said to have been for a long time given exclusively to residents; and in the other Colonies, having temperate climates and a European population, they have been chiefly so, perhaps with fewer exceptions than would have been for the real advantage of the Colonies themselves. I say with fewer exceptions than would have been for the real advantage of the Colonies themselves, because, until they reach an advanced stage in their progress, I believe that the appointment to some of the principal offices in the Colonies of persons not selected from the narrow circle of their own inhabitants, and imbued with the peculiar feel-

ings and opinions which are apt to prevail in such communities, but chosen from among the well-educated gentlemen of the Mother-country, is calculated greatly to improve the tone of Colonial society, and to prevent it from gradually degenerating from the standard of manners and acquirements to which we are accustomed at home. It is also an advantage in small societies, as tending to mitigate the bitterness of that party spirit which is so often their bane, that some of the offices of most importance should be filled up by persons from a distance, not connected with any of the small knots and cliques into which such societies usually become divided; while the interchange of appointments between different Colonies not only answers this object, but tends also to keep up among them a feeling of connection with each other and with the Empire of which all form a part. These remarks apply more especially to Judicial appointments, which, I believe, it would be wise, as a general rule, to fill up from the Bar of the Mother-country or of other Colonies, until the Colonies have made a considerable advance in wealth and population.

For these reasons it seems to me in the highest degree inexpedient, that a transfer of patronage from the Crown to any Colonial Authorities should be formally made. The existing arrangement enables the Secretary of State occasionally to depart from the restricted field of selection for important offices afforded by the society of the particular Colony, though practically this can be done very rarely; while

the necessity imposed upon the Governor of reporting the reasons for his recommendations to vacant offices, and obtaining the confirmation of the Secretary of State for the provisional appointments he may make, affords no unimportant check on any abuse of the patronage thus exercised; especially as those candidates for employment, whose claims have not been admitted by the Governor, have the right of bringing their case by letters sent through his hands under the consideration of the Secretary of State.

In the tropical climates, where the number of residents of European race is comparatively small, and the Colonial society affords a still narrower field of selection, appointments are rather more frequently made from home; but even in these Colonies, the more important and lucrative situations are usually filled by the promotion of those who have held inferior appointments; and it is desirable, for the encouragement of the civil servants of the Government, that this course should in general be followed; though no positive or invariable rule can be laid down, and it is sometimes of great advantage to depart from the usual practice. The above observations apply to all appointments under the rank of Lieutenant-Governor, or President, administering the government of a Colony; and the effect of the practice I have described, which has been followed for some years by successive Secretaries of State, has been to reduce the number of appointments, really at the disposal of this Minister, within limits so narrow as to render the patronage an object

of no importance as a means of obtaining political support for an Administration.

Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, it is true, are invariably appointed by the Crown, on the advice of the Secretary of State; but this patronage can only be looked upon as a source of difficulty and anxiety. The welfare of every Colony, and the alternative of success or failure in administering its affairs, are so mainly dependent upon the choice of a Governor, that I can hardly believe that any Secretary of State, even if he were insensible to all higher motives than a regard for his own interest and reputation, would willingly be guided in his selection by any consideration except that of the qualifications of the individual preferred. At the same time, the advantages of these appointments are not such as to lead to their being often accepted by persons who have much distinguished themselves by the ability they have shown; so that the services of men who have filled other important offices, and who would therefore be preferred for such situations, cannot be commanded. Hence the choice generally lies among persons of less tried fitness.

I certainly shall not in this Letter attempt to canvas the merits of the various appointments to Colonial Governments which were made while it was my duty to advise the Queen on this subject; it would be impossible to do so without entering into considerations quite unfit for public discussion. I will only state generally, and I can with con-

fidence appeal to you for the correctness of the statement, that no pains were spared which it was in my power to take, in order to secure the services, as Governors, of the persons who appeared to me most likely to discharge their important duties with judgement and ability; that the great majority of those appointed were known to me only by reputation and by their public services; that a very large proportion of the Governments filled up while I held office, were so by the promotion of persons already in the Colonial service, (it being my opinion, that the efficiency of that service, as a whole, would be increased by thus rewarding those who had distinguished themselves in it); and that the selection cannot, on the whole, be regarded as otherwise than successful, looking to the manner in which the affairs of the Colonies have been administered by the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors whom I recommended to the Queen. I will give in the Appendix a list of the persons so appointed, distinguishing those with whom I had no personal acquaintance previously to their nomination, and specifying the public services by which they were known to me*.

I have observed in the earlier part of this Letter, that if the principles I have endeavoured to establish are admitted, it will follow that the Colonies ought to take upon themselves a larger proportion than heretofore of the charges they occasion.

The chief source of expense at present on account

* See Appendix (A) at the end of this Volume.

of the Colonies is their military protection, as the charges of their civil government are now generally paid by themselves; and the naval expenditure, which is frequently charged against the Colonies, cannot in my opinion be so with any justice, since, if we had no Colonies, I believe that the demands upon our naval force would be rather increased than diminished, from the necessity of protecting our commerce.

Our military expenditure on account of the Colonies is certainly very heavy, including the charges for the pay of the troops stationed in them; the cost of barracks and ordnance works, that of transport, and the large proportion of the dead weight of the army which is fairly chargeable to the Colonies. This expenditure ought, I think, to be very largely reduced; and the Colonies, now that they are relieved from all that is onerous to them in their connection with the Mother-country, should be required to contribute much more than they have hitherto done to their own protection. This would, in point of fact, be only a return to what was formerly the practice of this Country. In the early days of our Colonial history it is well known that the settlers, in what are now the United States, were thrown very much upon their own resources in their contests, not only with the Indians, but with the French, and that the Mother-country acted rather as an ally than as a principal in their wars. In the West Indies the Colonies were also required to contribute largely towards their own military protection; indeed it is only within the last twenty years that

Jamaica has ceased to provide rations and barracks for the troops quartered there; and even now there is a relic of the ancient system, in the charge still borne by the Island, on account of the forts, though the keeping up of these forts has, I fear, become little more than a form.

I believe it was not until the time of the great revolutionary war with France, that nearly the whole burden of the defence of the Colonies was undertaken by this Country; but for the last fifty or sixty years this has been so generally done, and the charges on this account borne by the Colonies have been so few and inconsiderable, that a sudden change of system could not have been safely effected. The importance of returning to a sounder system was not however lost sight of, and we endeavoured to establish, and by degrees to act upon, the principle that the Colonies can only look to the Mother-country for military support in any dangers to which they may be exposed from a powerful foreign enemy; that Her Majesty's troops are not to be expected to undertake the duties of police, and of maintaining the internal tranquillity of the Colonies; and that the Colonies ought to undertake to provide for the expense of barracks for such of Her Majesty's troops as may be stationed in them for their protection. I except the case of those important naval and military stations, which are maintained rather with a view to the interests of the Empire at large, than those of the particular Colony, such for instance as Malta, Bermuda, etc., where the fortifica-

tions are of far more importance to the Empire than to the Colony.

As a first step towards carrying these views into effect, instructions were transmitted to the Australian Colonies very early in your administration, for a large reduction of the force quartered there, and for the transfer of the barracks to the Colonial Authorities, except in Van Diemen's Land, where, on account of the large number of convicts, a different rule was of course adopted. The transfer of the charge for barracks to the Colonial Governments appeared to be one of the first steps which ought to be adopted in attempting to reduce our Colonial military expenditure; because the charge for barracks and military works is a very heavy one, and is also one which it is impossible effectually to check at the great distance of many of our Colonies. Copies of the correspondence with the Governor of New South Wales on this subject, containing a full explanation of the policy pursued on this subject, will be found in the Appendix*. Although the principle thus acted upon in Australia was one which it was our intention to adopt as the general guide of our policy, there were strong reasons for beginning its application in Australia, and proceeding somewhat cautiously in acting upon it elsewhere. The Australian Colonies are, of all the Queen's dominions, the safest from attack by any foreign enemy; their position and the nature of the country render it impossible that in war such an enemy should do

* See Appendix (B) at the end of this Volume.

more than plunder and burn some of the seaport-towns, and even this would be effectually guarded against by a very small amount of exertion on the part of the Colonists, in erecting batteries and forming volunteer corps of artillery. In peace, there being no warlike natives (I confine these observations to the Colonies in Australia, excluding New Zealand), there is absolutely no danger to apprehend. Hence the amount of force required (except for purposes of police, which I do not conceive to form part of the proper duties of Her Majesty's troops) is very inconsiderable, and the Colonies may without difficulty undertake the charge of keeping in repair the barracks which have already been built. It is also to be remembered that the Australian Colonies have not lost anything by our recent commercial legislation: on the contrary, the effect of that legislation has been only to relieve them from restrictions, without depriving them of any peculiar and gainful privileges.

In other Colonies, though the same principle has already been partially acted upon, and was intended gradually to be so more completely, there were, as I have said, reasons for proceeding cautiously. In the North American Colonies the necessity of maintaining a considerable force arises almost entirely from their proximity to the United States, and from the fact that, if we were unfortunately involved in a quarrel with that Republic, our Colonies would be attacked as a means of injuring us. These Colonies, as I shall hereafter have occasion more particularly to show, had also

suffered more really than any others from the changes of our commercial policy; and the moment when they were struggling with the difficulties thus brought upon them, was not one which could properly be chosen for calling upon them to submit to an entirely novel charge on account of their military expenditure. In the West India Colonies the commercial distress, which has for many years weighed so heavily upon them, formed a complete obstacle to their being now called upon for any contribution towards their military defence. But both in the North American and West Indian Colonies a large reduction of force has been effected (a part of this reduction having been only ordered, and not completed, when we left office), by which a very considerable saving has been made; and, in the former, the maintenance at the cost of this Country, of an irregular local force, which formerly cost £16,000 a year, has been discontinued; and steps have been taken towards the complete adoption of the same principle as in Australia. I shall have occasion, in adverting to the transactions of Canada, to return to this subject, and state more particularly what has been done there. The other Colonies are chiefly either garrisons, such as Malta and Gibraltar, or else already contribute largely to their own military expenditure, as Mauritius and Ceylon.

Other arrangements have also been made, with the view of gradually diminishing the military expense of the Colonies; of these one of the most important has

been that for sending out pensioners, instead of detachments from the regular regiments of infantry, as convict guards, and for settling enrolled pensioners in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia.

I am persuaded that if the policy which I have thus slightly sketched is followed up, and if the Colonies, as they become better able to bear the charge, are required to take upon themselves a larger share of their military expenditure, this burden on the Mother-country may at no distant period be reduced to a very moderate amount. Considering that it is little more than five years since the first steps were taken towards the adoption of this as a regular system of policy, and that during that brief period the disturbance of our commercial relations with the Colonies has imposed upon us the necessity of avoiding any hasty proceedings in carrying it into effect, the progress already made is as great as could reasonably be expected.

I fear that this preliminary explanation of the principles on which the administration of Colonial affairs was conducted while under my immediate direction, as a member of your Government, must have appeared tedious to you, to whom these views are so familiar, and with whom I have so often had to discuss them. I am, however, writing for the information of persons who have not your knowledge of the subject; and I trust that the general explanation I have now given will enable me, by avoiding repetitions, to compress within narrower limits than would otherwise be

possible, without failing to make our policy intelligible to persons not possessing that knowledge, the account I propose to give of the principal events of the last six years in the different Colonies. But here for the present I will stop. In future Letters I intend to advert in succession to the several Colonies or groups of Colonies, and to call your attention to what is of most importance in their transactions, and in the discussions to which they gave occasion during the time of your Administration.

April 27, 1852.

LETTER II.

THE SUGAR COLONIES GENERALLY.

My dear Lord John,

I intend in this Letter to speak only of those Colonies of which sugar forms the staple article of produce. I begin with these, in the sketch which it will be my object to give of the most important circumstances in the history of the various British Colonies since July, 1846, because the earliest measure of your Administration was to propose to Parliament the alteration of the Sugar duties, which was carried into effect by the Act of the 18th of August, 1846, and because the discussions and proceedings arising out of that measure have been amongst the most important of those relating to the Colonies which have since occurred.

It is perhaps not strictly within the design of these Letters to discuss the propriety of a legislative measure which, after much debate, received the sanction of Parliament; since it is obvious that, if the members of the Executive Government are to be considered as

answerable at all for a measure so sanctioned, their responsibility is very different, both in kind and degree, from that which they incur by the exercise of their administrative powers. But the passing of this Act had so material an influence upon all the affairs of the sugar-growing Colonies, and carrying on their government became so much a struggle to maintain the policy of that Act, that some explanation of the grounds on which it was adopted is necessary for a right understanding of the transactions of these Colonies in the last six years.

The object of the Act of 1846 was to provide for the immediate reduction, and the entire abolition at an early period, of the heavy differential duty which was levied on foreign sugar as compared to that produced in the British dominions, and, further, to put an end to the distinction established by a previous Act, between foreign sugar the produce of countries in which slavery does or does not prevail. The details of this measure, it may be right to observe, were subsequently modified, and the period at which British and foreign sugar were to be placed on a footing of complete equality in the home market was somewhat postponed, the duties being also generally lowered by the Act of 1848, which it became necessary to pass in consequence of the commercial disasters of 1847, and the panic they created. The policy however of the Act of 1846 was adhered to; and as it is unnecessary for the objects of this Letter to advert more particularly to the provisions of the

two Acts, and the points in which they differed, I will, without taking further notice of the change in the mode of applying it, proceed to explain the grounds (so far as relates to the Colonies) upon which that policy was adopted and maintained. I have to add, that, in stating the grounds of our policy, I of course can only claim to do so according to my own understanding of them, because it is very probable that the considerations, by which the different members of the Government were led to concur in the measures that were adopted may not always have been the same, though leading to the same practical conclusion, and I have no right to assume that the views which I had myself been led to form many years ago on the state of the Sugar Colonies were on all points in conformity with those of others. I must therefore, at the risk of some appearance of egotism, refer more than I could wish to my own individual opinions.

In addition to those general reasons having reference to our domestic interests, which may be urged in favour of all measures for relieving trade from artificial restrictions (and especially the trade in an article which is now almost a necessary of life), the expediency of ceasing to exclude foreign sugar from our market by heavy differential duties seemed to me to be established by the following considerations. At the period to which I am referring, the British planters had long been in the enjoyment of a monopoly of the home market, which had been but slightly relaxed, by the Act of 1844, in favour of sugar the produce of

countries in which slavery does not exist. But notwithstanding this monopoly, ever since the abolition of slavery (and indeed from a much earlier period) there had been constant and loud complaints on the part of the West Indians of the difficulties to which they were exposed and of the distress which they suffered*. Hence there could be no doubt that the "protection" (as it is termed) which had been granted to them had failed at all events to secure their prosperity, if it had not been one of the main causes of their difficulties. It seemed to me probable that this last was the fact, and that the operation of the system of monopoly, to which the West Indians attached so much importance, had really been injurious instead of beneficial to them; because, while it would be easy to show that in all cases what is called "protection" tends to create expectations only to disappoint them, and to inflict loss upon those engaged in branches of industry so favoured, by leading them to calculate on prices which

* See particularly the Memorial of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, of the 28th of February, 1844, quoted in Mr. Burge's Letter to Lord Stanley, of the 29th of May, 1844 (House of Commons Sessional Paper of 1844, No. 341); also the further Memorials from the Assembly to the Queen, of the 18th of December, 1846, and the 24th of December, 1847 (House of Commons Sessional Paper of 1847, No. 160, and House of Lords Paper of 1848, No. 250, p. 75); the Report of the Committee of the House of Assembly on which the last Memorial was founded (p. 83), and the Despatch in reply p. 166. See also Lord Harris's Despatch of the 28th of December, 1846 (p. 696 of the same Paper), in which he says, that for the last *ten* years the greater number of estates in the Island have been kept in cultivation at a great loss.

they do not practically realize, this tendency was aggravated in the case of the sugar-planters by other circumstances.

The measure for the Abolition of Slavery, which was passed in 1833, is now generally admitted to have been most unhappily defective, from its containing no provisions calculated to meet what constituted the real difficulty of that great change in the state of society, namely the want of adequate motives to impel the Negroes to labour when the direct coercion to which they were subject as slaves should be withdrawn. Experience has long demonstrated that men, whatever be their race or their colour, will not submit to steady and continuous labour, unless under the influence of some very powerful motive; and that in general they can only be induced to do so either by direct compulsion (that is to say, by being treated as slaves), or by the constraint imposed upon them by their inability to obtain otherwise what their habits lead them to regard as necessary for a comfortable existence. It is notorious that even English labourers, probably the most industrious in the world, relax in their exertions when the power of this motive is diminished; and it has often been remarked, that when, owing to some unexpected demand, or other circumstances, the wages of any numerous class of labourers are suddenly and largely increased, the majority avail themselves of the increase to enjoy a larger portion of leisure than before, and content themselves with working only hard enough to live somewhat, but

not greatly, better than they had been previously accustomed to do. Now, during slavery, the Negroes were maintained principally by the produce of their own provision-grounds, which they cultivated in the time allowed them for the purpose by their masters, from whom they received in addition certain allowances, principally of clothing and salt-fish, to the value of a few shillings a-year: that is to say, they worked under the terror of the whip, without receiving any return beyond these few shillings for their labour, since in most of these Colonies land is so abundant that it can be had almost for nothing, and their provision-grounds could not therefore be considered as part of the wages of the Negroes. By relieving them from the coercion under which they had previously worked, and enabling them to command the full value of their labour, which in three or four weeks would amount to as much as they had received from their masters for a year, it was therefore certain that a change would be made in their position, in comparison to which that experienced by English workmen, in consequence of the most extravagant rise of wages ever known in this Country, under any temporary demand for a particular kind of labour, would be as nothing.

But although this was clearly to be anticipated, the Emancipation Act did not attempt to meet the difficulty that was sure to arise from the want of any adequate motive to induce the Negro to submit to continuous labour. All that it did was to adjourn the

difficulty by continuing slavery in a modified shape*, under the name of apprenticeship, for a few years longer; but the people of England, who had paid for the abolition of slavery, and had been told that it was effected, when it turned out that this was not the case, and that slavery was in reality still continued, though in a mitigated form, would not submit to have their expectations thus disappointed. It was with extreme difficulty that, in 1838, the House of Commons was induced to forgo its demand that the apprenticeship should at once be put an end to by the authority of Parliament, and to rest satisfied with passing an Act, which so crippled the power of the masters to enforce compulsory labour, that the right to it was no longer worth retaining. The consequence was, that this remnant of slavery was abandoned, and complete emancipation was granted to the Negroes, in the Crown Colonies by an Order in Council, and in the others by local Acts. None of these laws contained any provisions calculated to bring to bear upon the Negroes other motives to industry when that of coercion was withdrawn. They were also all alike deficient in not attempting to make adequate provision for the education and religious instruction of the newly emancipated population, or for the establishment of an effective police and the inforcement of order.

* See Lord Derby's (then Lord Stanley) speech in the House of Lords, on the 7th of February, 1848, in which he distinctly states though this was strenuously denied in 1833) that the apprenticeship was only a system of modified slavery.—*Hansard*, vol. xcvi. p. 175.

The result was, at first, less difficulty and a smaller diminution of the amount of work done by the Negroes than might have been expected. They accepted moderate wages, not knowing that they could command more; and as, in the early days of freedom, they imitated their masters and incurred expenses altogether unsuited to their condition in life, they were obliged, in order to obtain the means of meeting these expenses, to do more work than might have been anticipated. But they gradually got to know the value of their labour, and wages consequently rose; while at the same time they ceased to think it necessary to show that they were free by indulging so much as at first in fine clothes and luxuries, and their style of living subsided into one less violently different from that to which they had been used as slaves. The unfortunate consequence was, that not only did wages continue to rise, but—contrary to what happens in such a country as this, where an undue rise of wages in any particular employment soon corrects itself, by attracting more labour from other quarters—the higher the wages, the smaller became the amount of exertion by which the Negro could command what he considered necessary for his comfort; and, there being no source whence additional labourers could be procured in sufficient numbers to fill up the void, as the cost of labour increased, its quantity diminished. But the amount of labour which could be commanded being less than was required to carry on cultivation upon its previous scale, while the capital invested in sugar-

plantations, which would be in a great measure sacrificed by allowing them to go out of cultivation, was very large, it inevitably happened that the competition among the Planters, for the scanty supply of labour that was available, forced up wages to the very highest rate which the prospects of the sugar-market rendered it possible to pay, without incurring a heavier loss than would have been sustained from the abandonment of plantations.

In this state of things it is obvious that the tendency of that monopoly of the British market for which the Planters contended, was really to increase instead of to diminish their difficulties, because it raised their expectations as to the price their sugar would command, and consequently the wages they could venture to pay. So powerfully had these causes operated, that, in 1846, wages in Guiana * had risen to two shillings and fourpence for about six hours' labour, the Negroes scarcely ever condescending to work more than four days in the week, and often only two or three†. In other Colonies, where the land is less fertile, or the supply of labour less deficient, wages had not been raised to this extravagant height; but everywhere the tendency of the law by which the price of Colonial sugar was artificially enhanced in the British market, had been to raise the wages of the Negroes, and to diminish the amount of labour which

* See House of Commons Sessional Paper, No. 325 of 1847, p. 93.

† See House of Lords Sessional Paper, No. 250 of 1848, p. 568.

the Planter could even at an increased price command. Nor is this all. The high rate of wages which the Negroes could command, and the absence of any necessity for devoting more than a small portion of their time to labour, instead of proving of real advantage to them, had tended to make them rather retrograde than advance in civilization since the abolition of slavery. They are described in Guiana (where the evil was greatest) as passing their time in shooting and fishing, leading an irregular and wandering life*, much addicted to petty theft, and committing more serious offences when called upon to submit to a very moderate reduction of their extravagant wages, which was imperatively demanded by an alteration in the price of sugar. Education is stated to have made little progress, and it is observed that "the fact of the continued prevalence and undiminished influence of the practice of 'obeah' in this and other Colonies will partially illustrate the slow progress of intellectual improvement amongst them; and there seems to be a general impression that the rising generation are less docile, and more inclined to evil and reckless pursuits, than their elders †."

Such is the melancholy picture, given by a very competent authority, of the social condition of the

* See Governor Light's Despatch of the 3rd of May, 1848. (House of Lords Paper, No. 250 of 1848, p. 567.)

† Mr. Walker's Report on the condition of British Guiana, transmitted in Governor Barkly's Despatch of March 21, 1849, in the Appendix to the first Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Ceylon and British Guiana, p. 308.

Negro population in one of the most important of the former Slave Colonies, more than fourteen years after the passing of the Act of Emancipation, and above ten years after the Negroes had been placed in the enjoyment of entire freedom by the abolition of the system of apprenticeship. Such a state of things (of which the existence was known in 1846, though the description of it I have quoted was not written till later) seemed clearly to demonstrate that the system which had been pursued towards these Colonies, at the time of emancipation and since, was radically erroneous, and that a totally different one ought to be adopted. The change which was thus urgently required could not be effected by any single measure; but, for the reasons I have stated, it was a first and indispensable step toward improvement to alter the duties levied in this Country upon sugar, so as no longer artificially to enhance the price of Colonial produce, and thereby maintain the extravagant wages hitherto received by the Negroes, which had contributed so much to encourage idleness and obstruct the progress of civilization. A severe temporary pressure upon all concerned in sugar cultivation in our Colonies was no doubt to be anticipated, while this change of policy was in progress; but, until it had been accomplished, it was certain that society in these Colonies could not be placed in a sound and healthy condition, and the longer it was delayed the more painful would be the crisis which must be passed through.

It was upon these grounds that the abandonment of the policy by which, up to 1846, foreign sugar had

been almost excluded from the British market, appeared to me to be no less desirable, with a view to the well-understood interests of the Colonies, than it was clearly expedient for the sake of the fiscal and commercial interests of the Mother-country. The alteration of the sugar duties however was not adopted as a single measure; it formed part only of a general system of policy it was proposed to pursue, and the necessity of taking other means at the same time, in order to promote the success of that policy, was by no means overlooked.

One of the measures adopted with this view was to recommend to Parliament, that the Colonies which were to be deprived of their monopoly of the home market, should be enabled to admit foreign goods to their own markets on the same terms as similar British goods. By an Act of Parliament which was at that time in force, there were levied in the British Colonies, in addition to the duties imposed by Colonial laws, certain differential duties upon articles of foreign origin. These differential duties could not be at once repealed (as they had been imposed) by the authority of Parliament, because in some cases the receipts from them formed no inconsiderable portion of the Colonial revenue, the sudden loss of which would have occasioned serious inconvenience; accordingly, instead of simply repealing the Act of Parliament imposing these duties, a Bill was proposed, and passed into a law, by which the various Colonial Legislatures were empowered to repeal the

duties in question. At a later period the relief of Colonial commerce from restrictions imposed by the authority of Parliament was completed by the repeal of the Navigation Laws. The various restrictions from which the Colonial sugar-grower was thus relieved were estimated, in a memorandum officially communicated to the Board of Trade by the Committee of West India Planters and Merchants in the year 1830, as equivalent to a charge of no less than five shillings a hundredweight on Colonial sugar; the removal therefore of this burden could not fail to afford material assistance to the British Planters, in meeting the competition to which they were in future to be exposed.

But the chief disadvantage to which they complained of being subject, in competing with the foreign sugar-grower, was that created by the continuance of the Slave-trade, which enabled the latter to obtain a large supply of cheap labour. From this disadvantage also the Government endeavoured to relieve them; and with that view, as well as on the still higher grounds of humanity, every effort was made to suppress the Slave-trade by the vigorous use of our naval power,—I rejoice to say, with so much success, that the last reports received from the coast of Africa, when we retired from office, represented that detestable traffic as having been very nearly extinguished; and I am happy to perceive that Her Majesty's present Ministers have been able to advise the Queen to inform Parliament, in closing the late Session, that, for the present, the Slave-trade is entirely suppressed on

that part of the African coast where it was formerly carried on to the greatest extent.

But there were other measures which seemed to be still more urgently required for the restoration of the prosperity of the Sugar Colonies. This prosperity, and the welfare of all classes of the inhabitants of these Colonies, depend upon their being enabled to continue to advantage the cultivation of sugar, not merely because this branch of industry constitutes their chief source of wealth, but because, if it were to cease, there would no longer be any motive for the residence of the European inhabitants in a climate uncongenial to their constitution, while it is certain that they could not be withdrawn without giving an almost fatal check to the civilization of the Negroes.

But in most of these Colonies there was little prospect that the cultivation of sugar could be long continued, unless the amount of labour available to the Planters could be increased, and its cost materially reduced. This was the unanimous opinion of all persons interested in the production of Colonial sugar, nor was there any reason for questioning its correctness. Hence the planters and merchants connected with the West Indies and Mauritius were urgent in their demands for the adoption of measures to increase the supply of labour by immigration. It was our earnest desire to meet these demands as far as possible, though it appeared to us a mistake to depend too exclusively on immigration. Accordingly we did all in our power to encourage the introduction of labourers

from India, Africa, and Madeira, (the only quarters from which there appeared any prospect of obtaining them,) insisting upon nothing but the observance of those precautions which a due regard to humanity imperatively required.

It would lengthen this Letter far too much, were I to attempt to state in full the various measures which were taken in order to promote immigration; but as there has been much misconception with regard to the restrictions said to have been put on African immigration, I think it right to observe, that I am aware of no such restriction having been imposed, with the single exception of its having been required that *free* immigrants only should be taken. Some persons (I am happy to say they were very few) earnestly contended that the purchase of slaves in Africa, for the purpose of emancipating them in the British Colonies, should be sanctioned. It was urged that to do this would be to rescue the unhappy creatures so bought from a most miserable condition, and to place them in one highly favourable to them. So far as regards the individuals first purchased, this would undoubtedly have been true; but the further effect of the measure would have been to create a new demand for slaves on the coast of Africa, and, by doing so, to have given a fresh impulse to the internal Slave-trade throughout that continent, and to the wars and cruelties by which that odious traffic is maintained. It was therefore the bounden duty of the Government to take care that no means of pro-

curing immigrants for the West Indies from Africa should be adopted, which involved the purchase of slaves for that purpose, directly or indirectly. No restrictions were imposed for any other object, and none which, I believe, can be shown to have been unnecessary for this.

Unfortunately, no great success attended the endeavours to obtain free immigrants from this quarter. The African is in general attached to his own country; and though the Governors of the British Settlements on the coast were instructed to make known to the population the much higher wages and the advantages they might obtain, by going to the West Indian Colonies, and though a steamer was sent to what is called the Kroo Coast, whence the Guiana Planters were of opinion that a large number of voluntary immigrants might by that means be obtained, these endeavours proved almost unavailing, and hardly any accession of labourers for the Colonies has been obtained from Africa, except those found on board the slavers captured by our cruizers. Having mentioned the slaves thus liberated, it is proper to add that formerly a large proportion of these poor people used to remain at Sierra Leone; but by our orders means were taken to induce them, when first liberated, to go to the West Indies, and with so much success, that by far the greater part of those found on board ships captured in the last four or five years have consented to do so. Within the same period also improvements have been made in the arrangements

of the depôt where liberated Africans are received at St. Helena, and in those for their conveyance to the West Indies, which have put a stop to the excessive mortality that formerly prevailed among these unhappy people, both in that island and in the ships in which they were conveyed. Since the improved arrangements were adopted, the expense of conveying liberated Africans to the West Indies has been reduced, and, instead of being subject to much sickness and a high rate of mortality, their health has generally been excellent, and the deaths singularly few. The expense of conveying these people to the Colonies, which up to 1848 had been a charge on the Colonial revenue, has, by an arrangement made in that year, been since provided for by Parliament. It appears by the annual report of the Emigration Commissioners* for the present year, that no fewer than 13,500 Negroes, liberated from slavers, have been sent, at the cost of the British Treasury, to the West Indian Colonies, where they have proved of great service to the Planters, while the reports of the condition of these immigrants are in the highest degree satisfactory. I have only to add, on the subject of African immigration, that, a few months ago, a proposal for making another attempt to obtain emigrants from the Kroo Coast was sanctioned, and though its result is not yet known, I am not altogether without hopes that it may succeed.

As the supply of labour that could be obtained

* See Appendix to this Report, No. xix., p. 99.

from Africa was so scanty, we did what we could to make up the deficiency from other quarters. For this purpose we continued, and, I trust, considerably improved, the arrangements which had previously been adopted for procuring immigrants from India for those Colonies which thought it expedient to incur this expense. We also endeavoured to open a new source of supply in China. Two or three years ago Dr. Gutzlaff (by whose death the public service has since sustained a great loss) came home from China on leave of absence, and I availed myself of the opportunity of inquiring from him what prospect there was of obtaining emigrants from China, whence I felt persuaded that they might be got, and with advantage, in spite of the failure of such an attempt which had been made a few years ago in Mauritius. He expressed his opinion that a very large number of labourers of a superior description, and accustomed to the cultivation of sugar, might be procured from China, and pointed out the means by which this might be done. This information I communicated to the Governors of Trinidad and Guiana; and I likewise placed Dr. Gutzlaff in personal communication with some of the principal West Indian proprietors in this country. Additional information was afterwards obtained to the same effect from Dr. Bowring (our Consul at Canton), which was also communicated to the Governors; and Mr. White (an exceedingly intelligent gentleman of Guiana, who had been sent from that Colony to Calcutta, for the purpose of inquiring

whether the arrangements for procuring emigrants from India, for Guiana and Trinidad, might not be improved,) was directed to proceed to China, and ascertain on the spot what steps should be taken for obtaining labourers from that country. Mr. White furnished a very able report upon the subject, and obtained offers from some highly respectable mercantile houses to undertake the conveyance of Chinese emigrants to the West Indies; and when we left Office, the arrangements were so far matured that, unless they have been subsequently altered, I anticipate that in the course of the present year the first despatch of labourers from this quarter to Guiana and Trinidad will take place.

The mere introduction of immigrants into the Sugar Colonies would however have been of comparatively little use, without the adoption of some means to ensure their performing the labour expected from them in return for the expense so incurred. The facility for obtaining a subsistence by a very small amount of labour, which rendered the emancipated Negroes averse to steady industry, was not without its effect on the immigrants also; and it was absolutely necessary to bring to bear upon them some stronger stimulus to exertion, if the Colonies were to derive from their large expenditure in the introduction of labourers the benefit that was desired. No effective regulations had been adopted for this purpose, when I was called upon to consider the subject. The Planters universally insisted that the only arrangement which

could be satisfactory to them would be to legalize contracts for labour for not less than three years, and to induce the immigrants as much as possible to bind themselves by agreements of this duration.

I found, when I received the seals of the Colonial Department, that these long engagements had been disapproved by preceding Secretaries of State. Soon after the Abolition of Slavery, the power of entering into such contracts had been greatly restricted by Orders in Council, applying to Colonies where the Crown possessed legislative authority, and by instructions limiting the discretion of the Governors in assenting to laws which might be passed in those possessing representative Assemblies. Subsequently these restrictions had been withdrawn or modified, and it had been signified to the West Indian Committee in this country, that Her Majesty's Government were prepared to sanction Colonial laws for legalizing and enforcing contracts for labour for three years, subject to certain limitations and provisions against abuse. But though previous Secretaries of State had decided that the sanction of the Crown was no longer to be withheld from laws of this sort, no encouragement had been given to the Planters to rely upon long contracts, as the means of obtaining steady labour from immigrants introduced into the Colonies. In a letter addressed to the Chairman of the West Indian Association by the Under Secretary of State, on the 28th of March, 1846, the following opinion was expressed by my immediate predecessor in office:—"But though will-

ing, in deference to these reasons, to assent to the proposal" (for extending the power of entering into contracts for labour), "Mr. Gladstone directs me to observe that he must be distinctly understood as expressing no opinion that the experiment of entering into contracts for service for three years will eventually fulfil the expectations of those by whom the measure may be adopted. On the contrary, Mr. Gladstone fears that the disappointment of these hopes is far more probable: he believes that the result of attempts to bind free men to continue in any particular service after they have become dissatisfied with it, is very generally fatal either to the interests of their masters, or to their own freedom,—to the interest of the employer, unless severe and formidable coercion be used to overcome the labourer's reluctance to work—to the labourer's freedom, if those methods be taken*."

This opinion appeared to me to be just; and I therefore believed it to be necessary that, as long contracts for service were unlikely to answer, other means should be adopted, on which more reliance could be placed, for the purpose of ensuring the performance, by labourers introduced at the cost of the Colonies, of the labour expected from them, in return for the expense so incurred. The nature of the measures to which I looked for effecting this object, and my general views on this important subject, will be best explained by an extract

* See House of Commons Sessional Paper, No. 691 of 1846, Part II. p. 4.

from a despatch which I addressed to the Governor of Mauritius on the 29th of September, 1846, and of which copies were sent in a circular to the Governors of the West Indian Colonies. In this despatch, after pointing out in detail the objections to an ordinance for regulating the rights and duties of Masters and Servants, which had been passed in Mauritius, and of which I had been compelled to advise the disallowance on account of the undue harshness of some of its provisions, I proceeded to make the following observations:—

"But while I have on these grounds been under the necessity of advising Her Majesty to refuse her sanction to the ordinance you have transmitted, I am far from being insensible to the force of the reasons which have led the members of the Mauritius Legislature to conclude that some change in the existing system with respect to the introduction and employment of Coolie labourers is urgently required; on the contrary, I entirely concur in that opinion, and my disapprobation of the Ordinance is founded, not on my differing with the Legislative Council as to the necessity of adopting more effectual regulations for securing the continuous labour of immigrants brought to the Colony at the public expense, but upon a conviction that the means proposed for attaining that object are not well adapted to the end which they have in view, whilst at the same time they are open to very serious objections.

"The original error to which all the objectionable

provisions of the Ordinance are to be traced, is that it proceeds upon the principle of endeavouring by law to enforce upon the immigrants the due performance of the obligations to labour which they have contracted by accepting a free passage to the Colony, instead of seeking to place them in a situation in which they might be acted upon by the same motives by which men are impelled to labour in countries in which industry flourishes. This I conceive to be a great mistake; all experience tends to prove that no legal regulations, however severe, if they stop short of the extreme compulsion which is the characteristic of slavery, can succeed in enforcing really efficient labour (even though it may be in fulfilment of a voluntary obligation) from men who have no interest in being industrious. On the other hand, where the motives of self-interest are properly brought to bear upon their conduct, there are few, if any, among the various races of mankind who may not be stimulated to industry. Hence I am of opinion that, instead of encouraging the Indian labourers to enter, before they arrive at the Mauritius, into contracts to labour for several years for particular employers, and then endeavouring by stringent regulations to enforce the performance of these contracts, under circumstances in which it is the interest of the immigrants to break them; the true policy would be to adopt regulations, of which the effect should be, to make it the decided and obvious interest of the immigrants to work steadily and industriously for the same employers for a considerable

time. Nor does it appear to me impossible to devise regulations which would have this effect, while at the same time they would provide, in a manner much less objectionable than heretofore, for a large part at least of the expense of immigration*."

The despatch then proceeded to explain the heads of an ordinance, which were transmitted with it, for the consideration of the Council of Mauritius, and of which the principal provisions were, that immigrants introduced into the Colony at the public expense should be registered, and should be required either to enter into written engagements to work for a year for some planter, or, in the event of their not doing so, to pay in advance a monthly tax of five shillings; the written engagements to be subject to a stamp-duty of forty shillings for an original engagement, and twenty shillings for the renewal of an engagement at the end of the year with the same master. Registered immigrants were not to be allowed to leave the Colony without passports, until they had completed five years' industrial residence—which was defined to be residence during which they had either been under a written engagement to work for some master, or had been paying the monthly tax. At the end of five years' industrial residence, the immigrants were to be entitled to a free passage back to India; but those who chose to return at their own expense at an earlier period, were to pay, before

* House of Commons Sessional Paper, No. 325 of 1847, p. 144.

receiving a passport, one pound for every year wanting to make up the stipulated term of residence.

By a law of this kind it was anticipated that the immigrants would be placed under an effective obligation to work, while, at the same time, they would have the same interest in being industrious as any other free labourers, and they would be made to repay to the Colony the expense incurred in bringing them from India. As this expense was incurred for the sake of procuring labour for the planters, and the immigrants voluntarily accepted a passage to the Colony for that purpose, it was considered only just that those who declined to enter into any engagement to work, should be required to pay in advance the monthly tax I have mentioned, which would merely amount to a repayment by instalments of the expense incurred on their account under a bargain which they had not fulfilled. The necessity of finding money to meet this demand would, it was anticipated, compel them to undertake some kind of labour to earn it, instead of living in idleness and vagrancy; and this was considered even a more important object than that of securing the Colony against a pecuniary loss.

The stamp-duty on engagements would also be virtually paid by the immigrants, since their labour would come into competition with that of the resident population, or of immigrants who had completed their five years' residence; and the planter would of course only consent to pay to the immigrants such wages as, with the stamp-duty, would make their labour not more

expensive than that of men not coming under the provisions of this law. By reducing the stamp-duty on the renewal of an engagement to half that chargeable on an original engagement, a great encouragement was given to the continuance of immigrants in the same service; since a planter who would only have to pay twenty shillings stamp-duty on a renewed engagement, would obviously be able to offer better wages to the labourer, than another person who could not engage him without being subject to a charge of forty shillings. Though the continuance of immigrants in the same service was thus encouraged, their right to seek a new master, if they thought fit to do so, secured to them the power of availing themselves of the competition for their labour to obtain its full value, and thus maintained unimpaired that stimulus to industry which exists in a healthy state of the relations between labourers and their employers.

An ordinance founded on these principles was passed in Mauritius, and has worked exceedingly well, as I shall have occasion to show in giving an account of the transactions of that Colony. Somewhat similar laws were also passed at a later period, (some of them very lately,) in most of the Sugar Colonies.

Immigration however was not the only, perhaps not the principal source, from which an increased supply of labour was considered to be obtainable. It was still more important, in my opinion, to endeavour to augment the amount of available labour, by stimulating the actual population of these Colonies.

to greater industry. I have already explained the error which was committed at the time of the Abolition of Slavery in 1833, in not adopting some means of imposing upon the emancipated slaves the necessity of greater exertion. A plan of emancipation, founded upon a consideration of this necessity, had, in the beginning of the year 1833, been submitted on behalf of the Government to the West Indian Committee by Lord Ripon (then Lord Goderich), who at that time held the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. The assent of the West Indian Committee was refused to this plan, (partly perhaps because Lord Ripon was not authorized to accompany the proposal with the offer of large pecuniary compensation afterwards granted to the holders of slaves); and the seals of the Colonial Department having been transferred to Lord Derby (then Mr. Stanley), this scheme was entirely abandoned, and a different one was afterwards carried.

The distinguishing characteristic of the rejected plan* was, that it proposed to stimulate the Negroes to industry by the imposition of a tax on their provi-

* This plan, and the correspondence relating to it, will be found in the Appendix to the Fourth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Sugar and Coffee Planting, of 1848, p. 158. It had previously been printed in 1833, by the Committee of the West Indian Association, and had been extracted from their Proceedings and added as an Appendix to a corrected report, which I published in that year, of my speech in the House of Commons against the measure proposed by the Government for establishing a system of apprenticeship on the abolition of slavery. I may be permitted here

sion-grounds, while very stringent regulations for enforcing the payment of the tax, and for the prevention of vagrancy, were to have been established. The design of these proposals was to substitute, for the

to quote a few sentences from the remarks by which I introduced the rejected plan in the above Appendix, in order to show that the difficulties which have arisen from the mode of abolishing slavery which was adopted in 1833, are (though less in degree) in kind precisely those which I then anticipated. After expressing my opinion that slavery ought to be abolished, even if it were certain that the production of sugar in our Colonies would in consequence be altogether stopped, I proceeded to make the following remarks :—"If however sugar cultivation can be kept up consistently with the great principle of allowing every man (subject only to the control of the law and of the magistrate) to have the free disposal of his own time and labour, it is, I think, most desirable that it should be so; and this, not less for the sake of the slaves themselves, than for that of the planters and of the manufacturers and merchants in this country, who are interested in the commerce of our Colonies. The negroes certainly would be infinitely better off than at present if emancipation were to take place without any accompanying measures for imposing upon them the necessity of regular work: in that case it may safely be concluded that they would almost universally become occupiers of land, from which, with very little exertion, they could derive a greater abundance than they now have of the necessaries of life, and of the few comforts to which they are accustomed, so that they might, and in all probability would, pass the greater part of their lives in idleness. This I cannot consider to be what would be most advantageous for them: to be under the necessity of exerting themselves is, I believe, a blessing to men, of whatever country and in whatever situation of life; while the unavoidable consequence of the general refusal of the negroes to work for wages would be the annihilation of the commerce of the Colonies, and the ruin of all those who directly or indirectly depend upon it,—a result which in the end would be most injurious to the negroes, since it would prevent the residence among them of Europeans or of any other persons raised above the necessity of labouring for their subsistence, and

direct coercion of the whip by which the Negroes had hitherto been impelled to labour, the indirect constraint by which the working-classes in countries where slavery does not exist are driven to exertion, namely the impossibility of otherwise obtaining such a maintenance as their habits render necessary to them.

In 1846, when I assumed the direction of the Colonial Department, experience had only too clearly demonstrated the urgent want of some such stimulus to industry as would have been brought to bear upon the Negroes by the measures proposed in 1833; but unfortunately the time had passed away in which this want could be easily supplied. It was impossible to expect that, after eight years of almost unrestricted license, the Negroes would easily be induced to submit to such heavy demands upon them, and to such stringent regulations, as would have been accepted with joy and gratitude on their first emerging from slavery, and as a substitute for its oppression. But though the facilities for the reorganization of society (for nothing less was required) which existed in 1833 could no longer be commanded, and measures which would then have

thus enabled to diffuse around them the knowledge and the refinements of civilized life. The proposal which has been submitted to Parliament is, in my opinion, objectionable, not because it would make it necessary for the negroes to perform a reasonable amount of labour, but because it would impose this necessity by direct compulsion, instead of by the indirect compulsion (if I may be allowed the expression) which would arise from placing them in circumstances in which industry would be their only refuge from want."—*Appendix*, p. 52: *Speech on Colonial Slavery, published by Ridgway*, 1833.

met with no resistance could only be attempted with great caution in 1846, it nevertheless appeared to me that it was still expedient to act, as far as was practicable, on the principles of the rejected plan of 1833, which I conceive to be generally applicable in seeking to promote the improvement of a population low in the scale of civilization, and whose wants are few and easily supplied.

In all communities of which this is the social condition, (and therefore in several other British Colonies, besides those where slavery was abolished in 1833,) I believe that the means of advancing civilization; at the command of a Government, are of two kinds, the first being measures having for their immediate object the maintenance of order and security, and the prevention of vagrancy by an efficient police, the construction and improvement of roads, and the establishment of hospitals, places of worship, and schools, to provide education for the rising generation, religious instruction for all, and relief for the sick and destitute; the second, but hardly less important object, being to stimulate the industry of the people by having recourse, at least to some extent, to direct taxation bearing upon them, as the means of raising the revenue required for the public service, and more particularly for those important objects which I have just mentioned—the police, roads, schools, places of worship, and hospitals.

The necessity of adopting more efficient means for the maintenance of order and the prevention of

vagrancy in the Sugar Colonies, has long been insisted upon by all connected with them; nor do I believe that the advantage of establishing good roads, schools, places of worship, and public hospitals, has been disputed, though I fear that the great importance of institutions for the education of the young, and for the relief of the sick and destitute, has not been sufficiently recognized. But the difficulty of providing funds to meet the expense has hitherto stood in the way of making adequate provision for these objects; and it has not been understood that not only might this difficulty have been surmounted, but a very powerful stimulus at the same time have been given to the industry of the population, by adopting the mode of taxation to which I have adverted.

This is a point of such extreme importance, that I must explain somewhat more fully my views respecting it, which I cannot do better, than by extracting a portion of a despatch which, on the 24th of October, 1848, I addressed to Lord Torrington, on the financial measures that had been adopted in Ceylon. In that despatch, after pointing out that from the earliest times the practice had existed in that Island, and in India, of requiring from the people direct contributions to the wants of the Government, principally in the form of gratuitous service, or of a deduction from the produce of agricultural labour, I proceeded to make the following remarks*:—

* See Papers relating to the affairs of Ceylon, presented to Parliament by Command, February, 1849, p. 344.

"The methods adopted of imposing this burden on the population may have been objectionable, and it is my own opinion that, both in India and under the native Governments in Ceylon, they were generally either extremely objectionable in themselves or were much abused; but the practice of requiring direct contributions from the mass of the people appears to me to have arisen from a necessity, inherent in the character, circumstances, and habits of the people, which must continue equally to be felt by their present rulers. But, further, it appears to me to be a mistake, to regard the imposition of direct taxation to a moderate amount, upon a population in such circumstances, as really injurious to them. I am persuaded that it may, on the contrary, be conducive to their true welfare. The view of this subject, which I conceive to be erroneous, has probably been adopted from applying to a very different state of society, a judgement founded upon that to which we are accustomed in Europe. In all European countries, the necessity of supplying their daily wants is, to the labouring classes, a sufficient motive to exertion; indeed, the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the means of comfortable subsistence is so great, that it has generally been considered (as it always ought to be) the great object of the Governments of these countries, in their financial arrangements, to avoid aggravating this difficulty by the imposition of taxes calculated to enhance the cost of subsistence. But the case is very different in tropical climates, where the population is very scanty

in proportion to the extent of territory; where the soil, as I have already observed, readily yields a subsistence in return for very little labour; and where clothing, fuel, and lodging, such as are there required, are obtained very easily. In such circumstances there can be but little motive to exertion, to men satisfied with an abundant supply of their mere physical wants; and accordingly experience proves that it is the disposition of the races of men by which these countries are generally inhabited, to sink into an easy and listless mode of life, quite incompatible with the attainment of any high degree of civilization. But if it be admitted, as I think it must, that the real welfare of mankind consists, not alone in the enjoying an abundance of the necessaries of life, but in their being also placed in a situation favourable to their moral improvement and to their advance in civilization, it follows that, in such countries as I have adverted to, it may be for the true interest of the working classes that the contributions demanded from them towards the wants of the State should somewhat increase the amount of exertion required for procuring a subsistence.

"The greater progress which civilization has made in temperate as compared to tropical climates, has always, and I believe justly, been attributed to the power with which necessity, which is proverbially the mother of invention and the mainspring of human exertion, has operated in the former as compared to the latter; hence the obvious policy of giving addi-

tional force to this stimulus in those cases in which it is found to be deficient.

"Nor is it to be lost sight of, that while direct taxation is, in such circumstances, calculated to promote the progress of society, indirect taxation has the very opposite effect. To create and to foster a taste for the habits of civilized life in a rude population, it is requisite that they should have before them the example of civilized men, and that the gratification of the wants of civilized life should be rendered as easy to them as possible; but with this view imported articles should be rendered cheap, and those branches of trade and industry which require the direction of civilized and educated men, such as the production of sugar and coffee, should be encouraged. Hence the peculiar importance of avoiding the imposition of any taxes which can interfere with trade, and the expediency of adopting the very opposite policy to that which would be proper in Europe, by endeavouring, in the imposition of taxes, to make them press, so far as prudence will admit, rather upon those who are content with a mere subsistence, than upon the possessors of property and the purchasers of luxuries. I cannot forbear remarking that what is now taking place in the West Indian Colonies, and the difficulties which are there experienced from the deficiency of adequate motives for industry, afford a striking illustration of the justice of the views I have thus explained to you."

It will be observed that this reasoning is not less

applicable to the West Indies than to Ceylon; indeed the principle of taxation recommended in the above extract is far more calculated to be of service in the former, because in almost all the Colonies in that part of the world there exists a great deficiency of labour available for hire (which is not the case in Ceylon, owing to its vicinity to India), while the practice has been general of providing for the public expenditure by taxes which have a direct tendency to increase that deficiency. Hitherto the principal source of revenue in the West Indies has been the imposition of heavy duties on imports, including articles of ordinary food; and it is obvious that this system of taxation must tend both to increase artificially the strength of the motives which lead the Negroes to prefer working in their own provision-grounds, to labouring for hire in the cane-fields, as the means of procuring a subsistence, and also to discourage the formation of tastes which would afford a new stimulus to industry.

Unfortunately the opinion of the Planters as a class has been generally no less unfavourable than that of the labouring population might have been expected to be, to a thorough reform of the system of taxation in the Sugar Colonies upon these principles. Without the decided support of the former it was impossible to attempt to carry such a reform into effect; comparatively little has consequently been accomplished in this direction (especially in the Colonies having representative Assemblies), although the utmost pains were

taken to press the subject upon the attention of the various legislative bodies through the Governors*, and though the ablest of these officers entirely concurred in the views I have stated, and did all that lay in their power to promote their practical adoption. Hence the financial improvements that have been effected have consisted chiefly of reductions of taxation, not of the substitution of better sources of revenue for objectionable taxes. In some Colonies the reductions of taxation have been large, as will appear when I come to notice what has been done in different Colonies.

In the absence of a thorough financial reform, founded on the principles I have endeavoured to explain, sufficient pecuniary means were not available for carrying into full effect the other class of reforms to which I have adverted, especially as in many cases the existing taxes were so objectionable in their character, that their reduction was imperatively required. But the efforts of the Government were steadily and

* See particularly the following despatches:—To Lord Harris, October 24, 1848, p. 22 (House of Commons Sessional Paper of 1846, No. 160). To Lord Harris, April 15, 1848 (House of Lords Paper No. 250, of 1848, p. 775). To Governor Barkly, June 1, 1849 (House of Commons Paper of 1849, No. 594, p. 188). To the same, September 30, 1849. To Sir Charles Grey, December 22, 1847. To the same, February 15, 1851. The last of these despatches is a recapitulation of the substance of many previous communications to the Governors of the Sugar Colonies, and contains a full explanation of my views on this subject; I shall have occasion again to refer to it, and I have inserted it at length in the Appendix. See Appendix (C) to this volume.

constantly directed towards providing the means, by the strictest economy, of giving increased efficiency to the branches of the Administration in which this was most necessary, and towards ensuring such a use of the powers which belonged to it, as might be best calculated to correct the errors committed since the abolition of slavery. Of these errors the following description is given by Lord Harris, in his able despatch of the 19th of June, 1848; the most important statements in it are not less applicable to most of the other Sugar Colonies than to Trinidad, of which he is immediately speaking. He says, "The affairs of the Colony have now arrived at that state, that it is absolutely necessary that their position should be thoroughly investigated, and then placed on such a footing as that at all events the lavish expenditure and hap-hazard legislation which have been going on for the last ten years should not occur again*." In a subsequent part of the despatch he proceeds to observe:—"One of the many errors which have been committed since the granting of emancipation, is the little attention paid to any legislation having for its end the formation of a society on true, sound, and lasting principles. That such an object could be attained at once, was and is not to be expected; but undoubtedly, had proper measures been adopted, much greater progress might have been made. As the question at present stands, a race has been freed, but a society has not been formed. Liberty has been

* House of Commons Sessional Paper of 1848, No. 749, p. 320.

given to a heterogeneous mass of individuals, who can only comprehend license. A participation in the rights, and privileges, and duties of civilized society has been granted to them; they are only capable of enjoying its vices. To alter such a state of things, vigorous and prompt measures are required, in order that the authority of the law should be felt; greater weight must be given to the Executive; to humanize the people, a general and extensive system of education must be adopted; to assist in civilization, every encouragement should be given to the establishment and to the easy circumstances of a superior class, especially of Europeans, amongst the population. All this requires expense. But what means are ready at hand to effect this? The energy of the lower Authorities has been shaken, by the partiality which has been invariably shown until lately in the transgression of the law, if by a coloured or a black man*."

I have quoted this extract from Lord Harris's despatch, because it contains, in a few words, what I consider to be a singularly accurate exposition of the errors of policy which had been committed in the former Slave Colonies, and because it was the main purpose of the greater part of the voluminous correspondence, which it was my duty to conduct with the Governors of these Colonies, to impress upon them, and, through them, on the leading members of the communities committed to their charge, the necessity of correcting the errors here pointed out. Throughout that correspon-

* Ibid., page 323.

dence the objects in view were, to bring the former slave population under a much stricter discipline than they had hitherto been subject to; to make them understand that the abolition of slavery was not intended to relieve them from the obligation to exertion, but to create motives to industry, to promote education, and to provide for the strict enforcement of the law, at the same time to relieve the Planters by a judicious revision of the system of taxation, and by the reduction of all unnecessary expense, carefully avoiding however all reductions which would either have violated the public faith to individuals, or interfered with the maintenance of the public establishments on that footing of complete efficiency which true economy requires.

Unfortunately the Planters, and others interested in the production of Colonial sugar, were so determined to look for relief from their difficulties only by a return to the former system of monopoly, and were so much encouraged in this temper by those who called themselves their friends, that they were induced to adopt a course which rendered it impracticable for the Government to carry the policy I have endeavoured to describe more than very partially into effect. The course to which I refer, as having been adopted by the West Indian party, led to such serious results, that I must advert to it rather more particularly.

For about a year or a little more after the passing of the Act of 1846, for the alteration of the Sugar-duties, there appeared to be a general disposition, on the part of

those who had opposed the measure, tacitly to acquiesce in its continuance; and during the Session of 1847 the subject was almost, if not quite, unnoticed in Parliament. But the commercial disasters, in the latter part of that year, entirely altered the feelings of all connected with the Sugar Colonies, and created a panic among them, which prompted them to endeavour, by every means in their power, to prevail upon Parliament to retrace the steps which it had previously taken. Accordingly the distress of these Colonies became, during the Session of 1848, one of the principal subjects of Parliamentary debate. A Committee of inquiry into the causes of this distress was moved for in the House of Commons by the late Lord George Bentinck, with the avowed object of again excluding foreign sugar from our market; and when the evidence thus obtained came under the consideration of the House, a strong effort was made to prevail upon it to substitute a return to this policy for the measures which were brought forward by the Government.

You must doubtless well remember, that while we freely acknowledged and deplored the severe distress which at that time pressed upon the sugar-growing Colonies, we judged it to be far less attributable to the alteration in the Sugar-duties by the Act of 1846, and to the disturbance of existing relations, which is usually the first result of the abandonment of a vicious commercial system, than to the more general causes, under which all branches of the trade and industry, not only of this Country, but of Europe, were then

suffering; and we were persuaded that a return to the former policy, of excluding foreign sugar from our markets, would aggravate, instead of mitigating, the evils so loudly complained of.

We therefore resolved not to depart from the policy which had been adopted in 1846, but to endeavour to relieve the immediate pressure upon the Colonial interests, partly by a modification of the arrangement with regard to the duties on sugar, which had been made in that year, partly by enabling the Colonies, by the credit of this Country, to obtain loans on favourable terms, for immigration and other objects calculated to promote their improvement. The alteration we proposed, as to the Sugar-duties, involved some postponement of the period at which foreign and British sugar were to be admitted on equal terms, together with a very important reduction of the duties generally, which, by increasing the consumption of sugar, we believed would contribute, more than any other measure that could be adopted, to the real relief of the Planters.

Resolutions, on which to found a Bill for carrying this alteration into effect, were submitted to the House of Commons, and it was at the same time recommended that the Treasury should be enabled to guarantee loans to the amount of £500,000, which the Colonies might raise, in addition to the advances previously sanctioned, of £50,000 to Tobago, on account of the hurricane by which it had been devastated, and of £200,000 to Guiana and Trinidad,

to provide for expenses already incurred on account of immigration. These proposals were met by a resolution, moved as an amendment by the present Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, which affirmed the insufficiency of the remedial measures suggested by the Government. This amendment, after a prolonged debate, was rejected by a majority of only 15, the numbers on the division having been 245 in its favour, and 260 against it.

Such a division, and the tone of the discussion by which it was preceded, could not fail greatly to encourage the hopes of those who contended for the restoration of the former monopoly of the British Planter; and it was believed that the accomplishment of this earnestly desired object would be greatly promoted by thwarting as much as possible the measures, and especially the whole Colonial policy, of an Administration pledged to the maintenance of the principles of commercial freedom, and to the application of these principles to the important article of sugar. The difficulties thus thrown in our way prevented our accomplishing much that it would have been desirable to effect; and hence, although I trust I shall be able to show a great improvement in the condition of some of the Sugar Colonies, that improvement has been far less general and decided than I believe it would have been, if those most interested in their welfare had adopted a different course.

Still the effect of the abandonment of the system of monopoly in the article of sugar, with the measures

by which it was accompanied, has been the very reverse of that destruction of this branch of industry in the British dominions, which, during the inquiry of 1848, was so confidently predicted, as the inevitable result of refusing to restore protection. I need hardly observe that, nearly six years having now elapsed since Parliament determined that the monopoly formerly enjoyed by the British sugar-grower should be withdrawn, and nearly four since the law still in force was passed, it is clear that there has been time enough for this change of system to produce at least the greater part of its effect, and that if the production of sugar still continues to increase, that increase cannot now be attributed to an extension of cultivation effected under the stimulus of what is called protection. The question as to whether there has been an increase, and whether it is still going on, will be best answered by the following statements, compiled from the latest accessible information.

The first Table to which I have to call your attention is one showing the average annual importation of sugar from the three great divisions of the British possessions, namely the West Indies, Mauritius, and the East Indies, for the five years preceding July 1846, and for the five years succeeding,—that is to say, for the last five years before, and the first five years after, the admission of Slave-grown Sugar to our markets.

Quantities of Sugar and Molasses entered for Home Consumption in each of the Five Years ending July 5, 1846, *and July* 5, 1851.

WEST INDIES.

	cwts.
Average of Five Years ending July 5, 1846	2,702,730
Average of Five Years ending July 5, 1851	2,821,204
Increase	118,474

EAST INDIES.

	cwts.
Average of Five Years ending July 5, 1846	1,102,067
Average of Five Years ending July 5, 1851	1,343,555
Increase	241,488

MAURITIUS.

	cwts.
Average of Five Years ending July 5, 1846	674,256
Average of Five Years ending July 5, 1851	950,163
Increase	275,907
Total Increase from the British Possessions	635,869

You will perceive from this Table, that there has been a decided increase in the importation of all these descriptions of British sugar in the five years during which it has been exposed to the competition of the foreign grower, as compared to the five years of monopoly.

The next Table is one which has been prepared to exhibit, in periods of three years, the effect of the most important changes that have taken place in the circumstances of our Sugar Colonies, since the abolition of slavery was carried into full effect. For this purpose it compares the amount of sugar imported from the Colonies in the first three years after the cessation of the system of apprenticeship; in the three

years immediately preceding the first slight relaxation of the former monopoly, by the Act of 1844; in the three years immediately succeeding, and in which the further relaxation of the monopoly, in the year 1846, can have had but a slight effect; and finally, in the last three years, in which that measure and the subsequent one of 1848 must have had time to exercise a great part at least of the influence they were calculated to have, on the extension or diminution of cultivation.

Sugar imported into the United Kingdom.—Triennial Averages.

Whence imported.	1839 to 1841 inclusive.	1842 to 1844 inclusive.	1845 to 1847 inclusive.	1849 to 1851 inclusive.
	cwts.	cwts.	cwts.	cwts.
West Indies	2,388,362	2,487,297	2,733,714	2,833,698
Mauritius	620,734	568,590	918,313	967,126
East Indies	746,864	1,044,911	1,386,169	1,463,356
Total from British Possessions.	3,755,960	4,100,798	5,038,196	5,264,180

This Return, you will observe, leads to the same conclusion as the preceding one, and shows an increase of production in each successive triennial period.

The last Return, relating to this subject, which it is necessary for me to quote, is one showing the amount of sugar imported from each of the British Possessions, taking them individually, in the two last years*.

* It will be observed that, in this Return, the quantities of sugar imported are given for the years beginning in January, and therefore

Sugar imported from each of the undermentioned Colonies in the Years 1850 *and* 1851.

	1850.	1851.
	cwts.	cwts.
Antigua	123,485	200,235
Barbadoes	524,651	583,840
Dominica	51,816	60,239
Grenada	92,803	121,381
Montserrat	1,607	7,675
Nevis	15,508	33,309
St. Christopher's	70,717	122,029
St. Lucia	53,903	69,930
St. Vincent	139,567	163,409
Tobago	44,297	45,130
Tortola	1,406	3,070
Trinidad	366,214	441,772
British Guiana	525,297	595,200
Mauritius	1,003,296	1,000,269
British India	1,359,690	1,574,473
Jamaica	574,796	627,823
	4,949,053	5,649,784

It will be seen, from this Return, that the year ending January 1852 shows an increase, as compared to the preceding year, in the importation of sugar from every one of the British Possessions, without exception.

These Returns taken together prove that, whether we look to an average of several years, or to single years, there is, up to the very latest date, an increase in the

the figures will not correspond with those in the former Return, in which the years are taken from July to July,—the most convenient date when it can be taken, as it is that of the changes in the amount of the duty. These Tables have been prepared from the various Returns laid before Parliament. Tables showing the importation and consumption of Sugar, down to the latest period, are given in the Appendix (D) to this Volume.

production of sugar in the British Possessions, instead of that immediate and total cessation of cultivation which it was asserted must take place, unless the former monopoly were restored; and it is thus demonstrated, that the great fiscal and commercial advantages which are admitted to have been derived from the abrogation of that monopoly, have not been purchased by the lamentable consequences that were predicted.

But while the production of sugar in the British Colonies has thus continued to increase under the influence of competition, its price, as compared to foreign sugar, has continued to fall. It appears, from a Return* lately laid on the table of the House of Commons, that in 1844 (the last year in which the British grower had a complete monopoly) the average prices of British West India and of ordinary yellow Havannah sugar, exclusive of duty, were respectively 34*s.* 9*d.* and 21*s.* 3*d.* per cwt.; but that, in the half-year ending the 1st of January last, the price of British West India sugar was only 23*s.* 8*d.*, that of Havannah sugar being 22*s.*; that is to say, that in the former year, the price of Colonial sugar, to the British consumer, was maintained at a rate 13*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. above the price of foreign sugar, by the exclusion of the latter from our market, while under the existing law the difference of price between the two descriptions of sugar has been reduced to 1*s.* 8*d.*

It is impossible to account for these two facts—of a

* Sessional Paper of 1852, No. 296.

great reduction in the price of British, as compared to foreign sugar, and of a simultaneous increase in the imports from the Colonies—except by supposing that the abrogation of the former monopoly has produced the effect anticipated by its advocates; and that the reduction in the price of Colonial sugar has been met by greater economy in its production, and more especially by a reduction of wages, or rather by what is still more advantageous to the Planters than a nominal reduction of wages, an increase in the amount of labour obtained for the same money that was formerly paid. It will appear in the sequel that this inference is confirmed by more direct evidence as to the reduction which has been effected in the cost of producing sugar in the Colonies. It will also appear that, instead of any deterioration having in that time taken place in the internal condition of the majority of these Colonies, there are decided symptoms of improvement.

July 13, 1852.

LETTER III.

MAURITIUS.—ST. LUCIA.—TRINIDAD.

My dear Lord John,

The account I have given in my last Letter of the policy pursued towards the Sugar Colonies generally, will enable me, I trust, to review at less length than would otherwise have been necessary, the transactions of those amongst them to which it is needful to refer.

To begin with Mauritius. This Colony, in the year 1846, was in a condition which, judging from the rapid increase in the production of sugar which had been going on for some years, and from the state of the revenue, might have been regarded as exceedingly prosperous; but, on the other hand, both those interested in the cultivation of sugar and the Governor concurred in representing this prosperity as rather apparent than real, and in pointing out the existence of evils and difficulties of a very serious character. In an address to the Governor, dated the 31st of May, 1846, and signed by seven hundred and

twenty-five of the principal planters, merchants, and others, the preceding four years are described as "a period of unexampled distress and anxiety for all those concerned in Colonial agriculture*." In their repeated communications, both with the local and home Governments, the Planters and their correspondents in this country insisted principally on the scarceness and dearness of labour, and the consequent necessity of introducing a much larger number of labourers. They complained also that a large proportion of the labourers introduced from India, at a heavy expense to the Colony, did not give it in return the advantage of the labour for which this expense was incurred; many returning to India after comparatively short periods of residence, a still larger number being withdrawn from the cultivation of sugar by other occupations or by habits of vagrancy; while even of those who had contracted engagements with the Planters, many were very irregular in their attendance, the percentage of deserters and absentees being so considerable as greatly to diminish the amount of labour at the disposal of the Planter. The heavy taxation to which the Colony was subject was likewise a matter of complaint†.

The Governor's despatches by no means tended to throw doubt on the justice of these complaints;

* See House of Commons Sessional Paper for 1847, No. 325, p. 292. See also p. 295.

† See House of Commons Sessional Papers, No. 691, Part II. of 1846, and 325 of 1847 *passim*. See also House of Lords Paper of 1848, No. 250.

on the contrary they clearly proved the scarcity of labour, the rise which had taken place in wages, and the failure of the existing regulations to secure a due return in labour, for the heavy expense incurred by the Colony in the introduction of immigrants from India. But on the other hand the Governor, while admitting these evils, pointed out that the growing scarcity and dearness of labour, which had been so constant a subject of complaint, was to be accounted for by the competition of the Planters for labour to enable them to extend their cultivation, and that the production of sugar had rapidly increased by means of borrowed capital furnished by the great agency Houses, and for which very heavy charges were made; and he called attention* to the danger arising from this state of things, and the probability of "extensive embarrassment" being brought upon those engaged in this speculative system, "should a dark day arrive in succession to three consecutive seasons in which the Colony had been wonderfully favoured by Providence." These apprehensions of coming difficulties were but too completely realized by the commercial disasters of 1847, when so many of the great Mauritius Houses in this country fell to the ground; and the fact was disclosed, that the whole system upon which the cultivation of the Colony had been carried on, under the system of protection, was radically

* See Sir W. Gomm's despatch to Mr. Gladstone of August 24, 1846, House of Commons Paper of 1847, p. 217; also his despatches of February 18 and 20, and September 3, of the same year.

unsound, and had been pushed in a spirit of imprudent speculation, far beyond what the real capital and resources available for its support would warrant.

Previously to the occurrence of this commercial crisis, the principal object calling for the attention of the Government was the necessity of placing the system of immigration from India on a better footing; and I have already in my last Letter given an extract from a despatch which I addressed to the Governor of Mauritius, explaining the principles on which I recommended that an ordinance for this purpose should be framed. The suggestions contained in this despatch were adopted with some modifications in an ordinance passed in 1847, and afterwards amended by two ordinances of the following year. By these laws the relations between the immigrants and their employers were placed on a satisfactory footing, and provision was made for meeting a large proportion of the cost of Indian immigration, by a tax which, though nominally paid by the Planters, really fell, as it ought to do, on the immigrants themselves. Regulations for checking the abuses which were complained of, as prevailing at the depôt where the immigrants were received to await being hired, were also established by Mr. Hugon, who was appointed Protector of Immigrants,—an office for which he was peculiarly qualified, by his having passed some years in India in the service of the East India Company, and his being well acquainted with the language of the people.

These measures have been attended with complete

143164

success. In August, 1845, it was complained that many of the immigrants* returned to India long before the expiration of the five years for which they had agreed to come; and it was estimated that, in addition to those thus lost to agriculture, out of about 35,000 immigrants introduced into the Colony from India in the years 1843–44, not less than 8,700† had been altogether withdrawn from sugar cultivation, by becoming vagrants or having taken to other occupations, while of those who were under engagement to the Planters, eighteen per cent. were to be deducted as absentees. During the last two years complaints of these evils have greatly diminished, and it appears that in every respect the existing system is working in a highly satisfactory manner‡. I shall have to quote in the sequel a recent despatch from the Governor of the Colony, giving very gratifying evidence to this effect.

On the subject of immigration, I have to add that the heavy expense at which it was conducted had been a frequent subject of complaint on the part of the Planters. It was their wish that all persons should

* See Return of amount lost to the Colony by premature return of immigrants, House of Lords Sessional Paper of 1848, No. 250, p. 922.

† See Report of the Committee of Council of Mauritius, House of Commons Sessional Paper of 1846, No. 361, part ii. pp. 161–3 and 225, and Appendix to the Eighth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, No. 15.

‡ See Appendix to the Eleventh General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, Nos. 32, 33, and 34, and Appendix to the Twelfth Report, No. 42.

be allowed to introduce as many labourers as they pleased, at their own cost, with a right to their services. But the abuses to which such an unrestricted introduction of labourers by individuals had led at an earlier period, attracted the attention of Parliament, and in 1838 the Government of that day was compelled to put a stop to it; and although there is no obstacle opposed by the law to the free resort to Mauritius of as many labourers as may think fit to come from India or from other quarters, it has been found necessary to require that those who do not come of their own accord, but are brought there, should be so under the immediate charge of the Government. The arrangements for this purpose have been gradually improved, and since 1847 a remarkable reduction has been effected in the cost of introducing immigrants into Mauritius from India. In that year it appears, from a return which the Emigration Commissioners have been so good as to furnish me with, that the cost per head of these immigrants was £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*, but that for the years 1850 and 1851 it has averaged only £3. 3*s.* 1*d.*, excluding in both cases the expenses incurred in India. At this reduced cost, the immigration of labourers from India must be nearly, if not quite, self-supporting, since the increased productiveness of the general revenue, which must arise from securing to the Planters an adequate supply of labour, may fairly be set against any excess of the expense incurred in providing passages and return passages for the immigrants, beyond what is paid

by them in the form of a stamp-duty on engagements, or of a monthly tax on those not working under engagements. This large reduction in the expense of immigration, it need hardly be observed, constitutes a very important relief to the finances of the Colony. It has been accomplished partly by a relaxation of the rules of the East India Company as to the class of vessels to be used in this service, but far more, as I believe, by the removal of the restrictions imposed by the former Navigation Laws.

I have already made a passing allusion to the commercial difficulties of the year 1847. These disasters, in affecting every branch of our national industry and trade, fell with peculiar severity upon Mauritius, and I have now to give some account of the measures adopted by the Government for the relief of the Colony, in that season of extreme embarrassment and anxiety. In the month of October, 1847, in consequence of the failure of a large proportion of the mercantile houses connected with the Colony, a representation was transmitted to the Colonial Office by the Mauritius Association of London*, pointing out the absolute necessity for some interference on the part of the Government, in order to guard against the calamitous consequences that might ensue from the sudden interruption of the arrangements by which the employment of the large immigrant population, and the importation into the Colony of food for their use, had hitherto been provided for. It was stated that Mauritius annually drew

* House of Lords Sessional Paper of 1848, No. 250, p. 1073.

from India, for the consumption of the immigrants from that country, from 480,000 to 500,000 bags of rice, and that there was reason to apprehend, in consequence of the disasters that had fallen upon Calcutta and Mauritius, that the required supplies might not be regularly forwarded. The Association therefore recommended, as a precautionary measure against the risk of famine, that instructions should be sent to the Bengal Government by the next Overland Mail, to ascertain what shipments of rice had been made to the Colony; and in the event of its appearing that there had been a deficiency in the usual supply, to cause it to be made good by shipments on account of the Colonial Government. The Association further recommended, that, as the usual resources of the Colonists would be cut off by the total disorganization of commercial credit in England and India, an advance of £10 a ton on sugar shipped to this Country should be made by the local Government to the Planters, to enable them to continue the cultivation of their estates, and thus prevent the large number of labourers who had been introduced into the Colony from being thrown out of employment. Lastly, the Association recommended that this advance should be made in notes for one dollar each, payable in twelve months, to afford time for the Colonial agent to send out specie for their discharge.

This letter was dated the 15th of October, 1847; and though we were well aware of the great danger of any interference on the part of the Government with the

ordinary operations of commerce, and that much more harm than good is usually done by such interference, for the relief of difficulties of the kind now apprehended, still this case appeared to be so urgent and so peculiar, as to justify some departure from ordinary rules. The large number of labourers, who might, as it was feared, be left altogether destitute, had been brought to Mauritius on the responsibility and at the cost of the Colonial Government; while the danger was increased by the remoteness of the Island from all the great marts of commerce, and the apparent impossibility of its supplying, without extraneous assistance, the want of capital which must have been occasioned by the failure of Houses which had been stated (as it was believed correctly) to have had in their hands not less than half the trade of the Colony.

After as much deliberation as the shortness of the time permitted, it was therefore determined that the greater part of the measures recommended by the Mauritius Association should be adopted, and despatches were addressed to the Governor on the 25th of October, acquainting him that instructions had been sent to the Government of India to forward supplies of rice to the Colony, if this should prove to be necessary, and authorizing him to make advances to the merchants and planters of Mauritius, on the security of sugar to be shipped for this Country, to an amount not exceeding £150,000. This money was to be advanced at the rate of £9 a ton on the sugar shipped.

* See Paper quoted above, pp. 1070–1078.

The recommendation that the advances should be made in dollar notes payable in twelve months was not adopted, it being considered that this would in fact be equivalent to the establishment of an inconvertible paper currency, against the depreciation of which no effectual security could be provided,—a measure the injurious consequences of which must in the end far outweigh the advantage of any temporary relief it might afford.

But in declining to adopt this proposal, it was considered that some benefit might be derived from the issue of a paper currency, under regulations which should effectually secure its constant convertibility into specie; the object being to give to the Colony the advantage of a medium of exchange which, though more economical than one consisting exclusively of the precious metals, should be equally free from all danger of depreciation. The effect of this, it was anticipated, would be to set free a portion of the capital of the Colony, which was locked up in the specie used in its pecuniary transactions. This was regarded as an object of great importance, at a moment when so large an amount of the capital embarked in the production of sugar was either lost or withdrawn, in consequence of the recent commercial failures. The Governor was accordingly instructed to take the necessary steps for the issue of a paper currency of this description.

These despatches were transmitted to the Governor on the 25th of October, and their substance was com-

municated to the gentlemen of the Mauritius Association, by whom the subject had been brought under the consideration of the Government. They acknowledged with much gratitude the relief thus afforded*, but at the same time they strongly urged the necessity of adopting further measures for effecting a permanent improvement in the condition of the Island. What they chiefly insisted upon was, that a larger supply of labour should be afforded, and on easier terms; that intercourse with Madagascar should be renewed; that the taxation of the Colony should be greatly diminished, and especially that the export duty on sugar should be repealed; that, with a view to this object, the expenditure should be largely reduced and the system of Government entirely remodelled and simplified; and lastly, that greater advantage should be given to Colonial sugar, in its competition with foreign sugar in the home market. In reply to this communication, they were assured that it was the

* See the letter from the Association dated October 28, 1847, p. 1079 of the Paper quoted above. This letter contains the following passage:—"We now approach your Lordship, to offer our most sincere and very grateful acknowledgments for these timely measures of relief to the Colony in the hour of her extreme need. Whatever may be the result, we must say that your Lordship has responded to our call in the kindest manner, and with a readiness and promptitude of action that has never been exceeded; and we beg, in the name of the Colony, to tender to your Lordship our warmest thanks. These kind acts go far to impress the Association with the idea that the interests of the Colony are still considered of value and dear to the Mother-country, and in the estimation of Her Majesty's Government."

earnest wish of the Government to afford to the Mauritius merchants the utmost practicable relief, by the reduction of taxation, and by facilitating their obtaining a supply of labour upon the easiest terms to the Colony; but that it was impossible to give the peremptory instructions to the Governor which were asked for the immediate removal of particular taxes, and that no expectations could be held out that a return to the policy of excluding foreign sugar from the British market would be recommended to Parliament.

I have already fully explained our views, and the course we adopted, on some of the chief points adverted to in the above correspondence; it remains that I should state that an effort was made, but for the time in vain, to re-establish the former intercourse between Mauritius and Madagascar, and that I should give some account of what was done to meet the wishes of the Mauritius merchants, by improving and simplifying the system of the Colonial Government, and by reducing the public expenditure and taxation. This account must necessarily be a very general one, since to enter into any details would lead me into much greater length than is admissible.

The most important improvements which have been effected in the government of Mauritius have been the commencement of a system of municipal organization, and a reform in the judicial establishments and in the administration of justice. Until very recently there existed no municipal organization

whatever in Mauritius, and much business was thrown on the various public departments, from which it was highly desirable to relieve them. By an ordinance which came into operation on the 1st of January, 1850, a Corporation was constituted for the town of Port Louis, which was reported by the Governor, in his despatch of the 16th of May, 1851, to be working in a satisfactory manner*. This measure was intended to be preparatory to the general establishment of a system of Municipal organization for the rural districts, as well as for the towns of the Island; and I trust that this object may not be lost sight of, as its accomplishment would not only provide for the management of many affairs of a local character, in a much more satisfactory manner than at present, but would also be the best preparation for the future concession to the inhabitants of a larger share of power in the government of the Island. In the meantime, while, for the reasons I have mentioned in the first of these Letters, the state of society in Mauritius does not seem to be adapted to the establishment of popular government, two additional unofficial members have been appointed to the Council of Government from among the principal inhabitants of the Colony; the various departments of the Government have also been revised, and considerable progress has been made in simplifying the arrangements for the transaction of public business, and in providing for the reduction of the expense of the

* Blue Book Reports presented to Parliament in 1851, p. 272.

several establishments to as great an extent as is consistent with the maintenance of their efficiency, and with justice to the existing holders of office.

With regard to the judicial establishment and the administration of justice, it is only necessary for me to observe, that ordinances have been passed by which very important changes have been carried into effect, with the view of assimilating the forms of procedure to those of this Country, and getting rid of some cumbrous and objectionable parts of the old French system. It is confidently anticipated, that by these changes the administration of justice will be rendered far more prompt and efficient than formerly, with a material reduction of expense both to the Colonial Treasury and to individuals.

A very considerable reduction of taxation has been effected, the taxes abolished or reduced being those which pressed most directly on the industry and trade of the Colony. Of these taxes, the one which has always been the subject of the loudest and most just complaint is that on the export of sugar, which has been reduced from 1*s.* per cwt., its amount in 1846, first to 9*d.*, then to 6*d.*, and ultimately to 4½*d.*, the Planters being thus relieved from a charge of £37,500 a-year. Other taxes, amounting to no less than £50,734 a-year, have also been reduced, all of them being imposts the removal of which is calculated to afford relief and encouragement to the trade and industry of the Island. This is peculiarly the case with regard to the taxes which formerly rendered

the transfer of property in Mauritius exceedingly expensive, and also to some of the Customs-duties and dues upon shipping, which have been abolished. The reduction of the last, coming in aid of the repeal of the restrictions imposed by the former Navigation Law, seems likely to render Port Louis a most important harbour of resort for the ships of all nations, which cannot fail to be attended with much advantage to the Island. The above reduction, amounting in all to nearly £88,000*, has been effected in taxes

* The following is a more detailed statement of the taxes reduced:

Taxes reduced in Mauritius from 1846 *to* 1852, *omitting those suspended only and afterwards re-imposed.*

Reduced in 1847:—		
Transcription duty	£2400 per annum	
Market dues	1600	
		£4000
Reduced in 1848:—		
Taxes on horses and carts (deducting £470, the produce of a new tax on horses, from £5740, the gross amount of the tax reduced.)	£5270	
Export duty on sugar, reduced from 1*s.* to 9*d.*	15,000	
Other export duties	100	
Duties on advertisements, passports, and stamps	1470	
Port charges	1865	
Coals, bricks, etc.	130	
Provisions (Parliamentary duties)	400	
Tonnage dues and duties on coasters, boats, etc.	9100	
Registration and other fees	6000	
		£39,335
Reduced in 1849:—		
Fishing and trading licenses		£6108

which in 1846 produced a total revenue of £328,340, without the imposition of any new taxes except the stamp-duty on engagements and monthly tax on immigrants, and a small increase of the duties on tobacco and spirits or cordials, these last amounting together to about £14,000 a-year. The latter are a tax upon luxuries, which have always been considered one of the fairest subjects for taxation; the former, as I have already explained, cannot properly be considered a tax at all, but ought rather to be regarded as an arrangement for recovering from immigrant labourers, brought into the Colony, a part of the expense incurred by their introduction; and, instead of checking trade and industry, it tends directly to promote them.

Reduced in 1851:—		
Differential import duties . . .	£3321	
Export duty on sugar, from 9*d.* to 6*d.*	15,000	
		£18,321
Reductions proposed in 1852:—		
Export duty on sugar, from 6*d.* to 4½*d.*	£7500	
Export quay duties	5500	
Harbour dues	1000	
Registration dues	5000	
Portal charges	1000	
		£20,000

Making a total of taxes reduced since 1846 of £87,764 per annum, including taxes for the repeal of which ordinances have lately been passed.

The above statement has been made out from a Paper as to the financial arrangements of the Colony for the present year, which was laid by the Governor before the Council, and was republished from a Colonial newspaper in the 'Economist' of the 15th of May, and from an account which was prepared for me some time ago in the Colonial Office, from similar Papers of former years.

The whole therefore of the great relief which has been given to the commercial interests of Mauritius, has been obtained without any drawback by the imposition of new burdens. This relief has also been granted without any detriment to the finances of the Colony. It appears, from accounts laid by the Governor before the Council, and recently received in this Country, that the revenue for 1851, which had been estimated at £292,762, actually amounted to £321,390, and the expenditure to £259,728, leaving a surplus of £61,662, the surplus at the end of the year 1850 having been £42,000.

Such were the chief measures of the Government in the Mauritius during the five years and a half of your Administration. The highest credit is due to Sir G. Anderson and Mr. Higginson for the energy and judgement with which they successively managed the affairs of the Island, and performed the difficult task entrusted to them of working out the policy we had determined to adopt. The results of that policy will be best shown by a despatch from the Governor, which I had the satisfaction of laying on the table of the House of Lords on the eve of our retirement from office. This despatch I think it right to quote at length; and before doing so, I have only to observe that, in order duly to estimate the improvement which has taken place in the condition of the Colony, it should be remembered, that the distress which only four years ago prevailed there, had produced its ordinary effect of political discontent,

which was greatly aggravated by the persevering efforts made in this Country to represent the members of your Administration as enemies of the Colonies, on account of our commercial policy. The correspondence laid before Parliament affords ample evidence of the discontented and irritated feelings which prevailed in the Colony during the years 1847 and 1848,—feelings which are in striking contrast with those described as now existing amongst the inhabitants in the following despatch:—

"*Copy of a Despatch from the Governor of Mauritius to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, with a Report on the State of the Rural Districts.*

"Mauritius, 14th October, 1851.

"My Lord,

"I beg leave to transmit herewith copies of an address presented to me by the inhabitants of Flacq on my recent visit to that district, and of my reply thereto*.

"I have now completed a tour of the rural districts, during which the favourable impressions that I had been led to form, and to express to your Lordship, of the condition, the progress, and the promise of this valuable, and, at the present period, most interesting dependency of the Crown, have been amply confirmed.

"I found abroad a spirit of self-reliance, a conviction of the adequacy of our growing resources, and a resolution to combat with vigour the difficulties still unsubdued, that to my view present unmistakeable earnests of ultimate success. I saw, in some quarters, luxuriant canes covering lands redeemed within a few years from the forest or the rock, now amply remunerating the labour and capital bestowed upon

* See Appendix (E) to this Volume.

them. I saw in others substantial edifices rising up, new and powerful steam-engines at work, and improved processes of manufacture, rewarding the enterprise of their introducers, and everywhere symptoms of activity, energy, and industry. I saw the Indian immigrant in the field, working steadily and with good-will, and when at rest cheerful and contented in his camp. As it is by him and through him that the Mauritian Planter must rise or fall, to the character of the relations subsisting between them the utmost importance ought, I conceive, to be attached. So far as I could judge—and I took pains to ascertain correctly—these relations are highly satisfactory. Complaints on either side grow more rare, as the language, the character, and the habits of the Indian become better understood; and from what I heard and witnessed, I believe that he and his employer are mutually pleased and satisfied. There appeared no general scarcity of labour, although in some less favoured localities it was represented that additional hands were required. Wages continue moderate, and our now open port generally keeps down the price of rice and other grain to a reasonable average. The market however is not supplied with sufficient regularity, but it may be expected that free competition will soon cure this defect.

"I may perhaps be over-sanguine, but I witnessed so many significant symptoms of progress and improvement throughout the island, that I cannot resist the conviction that the foundation is now being laid of wealth and prosperity, more stable and enduring than ever could have been attained under the former speculative and artificial system of labour and of prices, which for a time largely enhanced profits, and ultimately left the Colony on the verge of bankruptcy and ruin. I will not dwell upon the painful sacrifices, the misery and suffering, that followed; very few

escaped unharmed, and many were engulfed in the wreck. I will rather turn to the gladsome prospect that has opened upon us, elevating the hopes of the employers of free labour, and cheering them on to the momentous struggle in which they are engaged, and of which this little Island seems the predestined battle-field. The issue may for a season vacillate, but the ground already won, and the resources available, fully developed and judiciously applied, form no light guarantees of ultimate victory. The discomfiture will prove a mighty engine, an incalculable impetus, to the extinction of slavery, and to the suppression of that accursed traffic.

"I will not pretend to estimate the maximum production of sugar of which this fertile soil is capable; that it at present falls far short of that limit is unquestionable. By more skilful and economical husbandry, and the larger application of chemistry and improved mechanism to the manipulation of the cane, in both of which directions progress is being made, there is no doubt that the amount of production can be considerably increased; but for clearing forest lands, and reclaiming large tracts now lying sterile and unproductive, a large accession of capital and labour is required; and that will assuredly follow the establishment of confidence in the capabilities and resources of the Colony, which the present aspect of both agricultural and commercial affairs is, in my judgement, well calculated to promote.

"Whilst I am enabled to report thus favourably of our material prospects, I believe I am warranted in stating that progress has also been made in ameliorating the moral and social condition of the people, but much more, I apprehend, remains to be accomplished. The great lever, education, has much to contend against, from the heterogeneous ele-

ments by which it is here surrounded. Amongst a community composed of men differing in race, in manners, in language, and in religion, by none of whom perhaps are the advantages and value of knowledge sufficiently appreciated, the march of education must necessarily be slow, and its harvest of protracted maturity.

"I have recently referred to the Education Committee the highly important question of devising some provision for imparting elementary instruction to the Indian section of the population; but its solution is beset with such formidable difficulties that I at present entertain but faint hopes of seeing the object accomplished.

"The almost total absence of the emancipated race from plantation labour is a striking feature in our social economy, They are now to be sought for in the principal towns and their neighbourhood, or in retired spots, where they have located themselves in straggling hamlets, deriving an easy subsistence from the produce of the ground which they cultivate, and from the rearing of poultry and other stock, which they carry to the market of Port Louis, sometimes from very distant quarters of the island. They also traffic in firewood and charcoal: and huckstering and peddling are favourite pursuits. I visited some of these Settlements: they wear an appearance of comfort and independence: their inmates are generally orderly and well-conducted; but they prefer ease to work; and, unstimulated to labour beyond what their limited necessities demand, they abandon all field-work for hire, which, unfortunately, they consider to be a degraded occupation, and which, in their own minds, they cannot disconnect from the old system of compulsory labour. This feeling is imbibed by their children, whom they bring up to follow callings similar to their own, or some trade or handicraft; so that until the immigrants

become denizens of the soil, to which every possible encouragement is given, planters may be said to be entirely dependent on foreign labour for the cultivation of their estates. There is usually a church or chapel within reach of these Settlements, at which the attendance is, I understand, pretty regular; but I fear that the opportunities for secular instruction are exceedingly limited. Intermarriages between Indians and creoles are very rare, but more frequent now than formerly. The great disparity between the sexes amongst the former is an evil which I have frequently noticed, and which is, I hope, in course of being mitigated. The liberality shown by the local Government, and the readiness with which they sanction the additional expenditure involved in the attempts made to remedy this defect, are, I think, highly creditable to their foresight and philanthropy.

"I rejoice in believing that all classes of the community over whom I have been called to preside are animated by a spirit of loyalty and order; but the sentiments of respectful attachment and genuine regard entertained towards the Sovereign's Representative in the rural districts were as conspicuous as they were highly gratifying to witness. I was cordially welcomed everywhere; and the knowledge, both of men and things, directly acquired by personal intercourse and observation, cannot, I think, fail to be useful and profitable. My visits were gratefully and warmly appreciated by the inhabitants, who looked upon them as the revival of an ancient and popular custom, when relations between governors and governed stood upon a more intimate and less reserved footing. They feel gratified at the occasional presence of the chief of the Colony, from which they also anticipate advantage to their districts, in the opportunity of having their local wants and wishes

brought more immediately under his notice. They were freely invited to make these known, and the reasonableness and justice of their demands generally enabled me to take measures for acceding to them without delay and without difficulty. I found no crying grievances to redress, no festering wounds to heal, no grave complaints to inquire into; peace, harmony, and contentment appeared to prevail. To preserve and improve these blessings will be my unremitting study; and, possessing the confidence of the people and the continued support of your Lordship, I trust that my efforts will not prove unavailing.

"Some may pronounce the picture that I have attempted to draw too flattering; but I assure your Lordship that no exaggeration is intended. My only desire has been to describe faithfully what came under my own observation, and to make known to your Lordship the conclusions which I have ventured to deduce, in reference to the condition, both present and prospective, of the districts which I have recently visited.

"I have, etc.,

"J. M. Higginson."

There are two other Sugar-growing Colonies in which the form of government is the same with that which exists in Mauritius, namely St. Lucia and Trinidad. In both a similar course of policy has been pursued to that which I have already described as having been adopted in Mauritius; it is therefore unnecessary that I should advert to more than a few particulars in the correspondence to which their affairs have given rise.

With regard to St. Lucia it will be seen, on reference

to the series of very able Reports upon its condition which were made by the late Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Darling* (now Lieutenant-Governor of the Cape of Good Hope), that on his appointment at the end of the year 1847 he found the Colony in a state which was very far from satisfactory. The upper classes were divided by feuds and jealousies, which for some years had convulsed society, while the labouring population were not making the progress in civilization which might have been expected since the abolition of slavery. The means of promoting education were exceedingly defective; considerably less than half the population were in the habit of attending any place of worship; and, though serious crimes were rare, petty thefts and other minor offences were lamentably common. Agriculture was in a very rude state, with little improvement apparently going on, and there existed neither municipal institutions of any kind, nor agricultural or other societies, calculated to promote the interchange of ideas and the intellectual improvement of the Colonists. The administration of justice was costly, and in many respects defective.

It is of course impossible that a really satisfactory state of society can be substituted for one so much the reverse except by very slow degrees; and in so short a time as has elapsed since the close of 1847, all

* See Blue Book Reports, presented in 1848, 1849, 1850, and 1851; and Lieutenant-Governor Darling's Despatch to Colonel Reid, of the 21st of March, 1848. (House of Lords' Sessional Paper of 1848, No. 250, p. 348.)

that can be expected is that a beginning of improvement should have been made, and that means should have been created for carrying it progressively forward. This has, I think, certainly been accomplished. Party spirit does not run so high as formerly, owing mainly to the judicious and conciliatory conduct of the late Lieutenant-Governor, and in no slight degree also, as I believe, to the course which was taken with reference to the unfortunate differences between a former Lieutenant-Governor and the then Chief Justice. These differences, after greatly agitating the Colony, led to charges being brought against the Judge, which, instead of being decided by any more summary process, were referred for inquiry and adjudication to a Committee of the Privy Council, by whom counsel were heard both in support of the charges and in reply to them. The Committee of the Privy Council ultimately recommended the removal of the Judge who had been accused, expressing at the same time some disapprobation of the course taken by the predecessor of Lieutenant-Governor Darling; and this decision, having been pronounced by a perfectly impartial tribunal, and after an inquiry of a judicial character, was not contested, as it certainly would have been, had it proceeded from any less weighty authority; and it practically put an end to a business of a very troublesome nature*.

I mention this circumstance, because it is an ex-

* These Papers were laid at the time upon the table of the House of Commons.

ample of those personal quarrels between the officers of Colonial Governments, which it is so much the tendency of these small societies to create, and which add so materially to the labour and difficulty of administering the affairs of the Colonies. It illustrates also the advantage of the arrangement to which I shall advert in a future Letter, by which the Secretary of State was enabled to obtain the assistance, on certain occasions, of a Committee of the Privy Council.

The office of Chief Justice, having thus been rendered vacant, was not filled up by the appointment of any resident Judge; but an arrangement was made, with the assent of the Legislature of Barbadoes, for appointing Sir Bouchier Clarke, the very able Chief Justice of that Colony, to the same office in St. Lucia, to which latter Colony he now pays periodical visits, for the purpose of presiding in the Court when cases of importance are brought before it, minor cases being disposed of by the resident Puisne Judge. The expense of the judicial establishment has thus been materially reduced, without depriving St. Lucia of the advantage of having her Courts of Justice presided over by a lawyer of the highest distinction, both for professional knowledge and for the general uprightness and excellence of his character. The economy of this arrangement is the least of its recommendations; its great advantage is that of placing the important office of Chief Justice in the hands of a person not usually resident in the Island, and thus

removed from the influence of those local animosities which so constantly arise in such small communities, and oppose a great obstacle to the satisfactory administration of justice, by a judge who is himself a member of the society which is thus divided. The arrangements for the administration of justice have further been improved by the establishment of Trial by Jury in criminal cases, by some important amendments in the laws relating to masters and servants, and by affording increased facilities for the recovery of debts, by less expensive processes than formerly.

Trial by Jury was established upon a system which has been for many years in successful operation in Van Diemen's Land, and which I have omitted no opportunity of recommending for adoption elsewhere. The objections to requiring unanimity in a Jury are palpable and notorious; but, on the other hand, the rule of deciding by a majority is open to the objection, that the majority may overrule adverse opinions hastily and impatiently, and resort to the ready expedient of resolving every question by putting it at once to the vote. The plan which seems best adapted to obviate on the one hand the undue impatience of a majority, and, on the other, the undue pertinacity of a minority, is that of verdicts by majorities lessening as the periods of deliberation lengthen. Thus, if the Jury consist of twelve (which however is a larger number than I would recommend) unanimity is required for the first two hours, unanimity less by one for the second, less by two for the

third, less by three for the fourth, less by four for the fifth; and if there should then, at the end of ten hours of deliberation, be a dissentient minority of more than four out of twelve, a new Jury is to be impanelled.

Amongst other improvements of a more general nature which have been effected, the Lieutenant-Governor points out* that "the basis of an extended provision for the education of the people, and for disseminating useful agricultural knowledge, has been laid." Public works of much utility have been successfully completed; reductions in the civil establishment have been made, without impairing its efficiency; the objectionable export-duties formerly levied have been repealed, and the customs-duties generally lowered without reducing the revenue, which is amply sufficient to meet the expenditure; the beginning of municipal institutions has been made, by the creation of a Town Council in Castries; the charge of pauperism has been greatly reduced, by a careful revision of the claims for relief; and, lastly, about 1100 Negroes liberated from captured slavers have been introduced into the Colony, and most gratifying reports have been received of their condition and prospects.

Though the measures I have enumerated may not present any immediate and striking results, they have, I believe, laid the foundation for a solid improvement in the condition of this Colony, one of the most highly gifted by nature in the British dominions. In the

* Blue Book Reports for 1849.

meantime it is satisfactory to find that in St. Lucia, where, by the careful investigation of the Lieutenant-Governor, we have more complete means than elsewhere of judging of the actual results of the competition to which the British sugar-grower is now exposed, there is very strong evidence to show that the effects of our altered commercial policy have not been injurious to the Planters. Lieutenant-Governor Darling, with great pains, collected information which throws much light on the practical working of the recent change, and which will be found in his Reports upon the Colony presented to Parliament in the years 1850 and 1851. In the former of these Reports he states that "the fall in wages from an average of 1*s.* 4*d.* a day in 1846 to 11*d.* in 1849 was the direct result of the reduced prices occasioned by the Sugar Duties Act of 1846." He then shows, by a comparison of the rates of wages in St. Lucia with the average prices of Colonial sugar in this Country, as given in the Gazette, "that while in 1846 the rate of wages was to the Gazette price of 1 cwt. of sugar as 1 is to 26, in 1849 the rate of wages stood in proportion to the Gazette price of 1 cwt. of sugar as 1 does to 28; or, putting the case thus, if 1*s* 4*d.* was the daily wages in 1846, when £1 14*s.* 5*d.*, or 413 pence, was the Gazette price of 1 cwt. of sugar, then when in 1849 11*d.* became the rate of wages, £1 3*s.* 8*d.*, or 284 pence, would be the equivalent price of a cwt. of sugar; but I find the average price of Muscovado sugar for 1849 to be about £1 5*s.* 6*d.* per cwt., being 1*s.* 10*d.* a cwt.

in favour of the produce of the year 1849." He proceeds to observe that the cost of labour does not form the whole cost of producing sugar, but constitutes from two-thirds to three-quarters of such cost; and that freight having been reduced from four to three shillings per cwt. and the prices of some articles of estates' supplies being also lower, "upon the whole it may be concluded that the position of the producer of sugar, so far as it is affected by the proportion which exists between the cost of production and the price of produce, is in 1849 at least 2*s.* 6*d.* better than it was in 1846*."

Lieutenant-Governor Darling, in making this statement, frankly acknowledged that the Planters in St. Lucia then took a very different view of the subject from himself; but, reverting to the question in his Report dated the 8th of May 1851, he points out "that the sales of estates which have taken place since the commencement of the present year amply prove, both by the prices realized and the number of contending purchasers, that the opinion I have ventured to advance, that profitable returns from the cultivation of the cane may be reasonably expected, are now acquiesced in by many of the planting body."

* The publication of this statement led to its accuracy being questioned by one of the principal planters in the Island, a member of the Legislative Council; but the Lieutenant-Governor met the doubt thus raised by further details, which fully supported, as it appears to me, the correctness of his original statement, or at least of that part of it which I have quoted. See this correspondence in the second part of the Blue Book Reports for 1850.

I have already, in speaking of the Sugar Colonies generally, quoted the opinion expressed by Lord Harris of the condition in which he found the fertile and beautiful island of Trinidad in 1846. The existence of such a state of things as he described, more than eight years after the complete abolition of slavery, affords decisive evidence how little the commercial monopoly which the Planters had enjoyed had contributed to promote their real interest, or, I may add, that of any other class of society. It was also a state of things which rendered the Colony little capable of bearing up against the difficulties of the commercial crisis of 1847. Accordingly these difficulties were felt nowhere with greater severity than in Trinidad; and during the last months of 1847 and the whole of 1848 nothing could exceed the gloom by which its prospects were overhung. In addition to other failures, the stoppage of the West India Bank, which Lord Harris reported in his despatch of the 4th of December, 1847, contributed greatly to increase the embarrassment which was experienced; and the falling off of the revenue, from the interruption of trade, threatened to add the insolvency of the Colonial Treasury to that of a large proportion of those engaged in the commerce and agriculture of the Island.

On the 22nd of May, 1848, the Governor reported the Colonial Treasury to be absolutely empty; and in this and other despatches, while he said that the existing salaries were not higher than they ought

to be, and that for the efficient conduct of the public service the civil establishment required to be increased instead of being diminished, he felt it impossible to suggest any mode of meeting the deficiency which the Council anticipated in the revenue of the year, without, amongst other measures, having recourse to a large deduction from the salaries of all the public servants. He proposed* that a deduction, varying from thirty per cent. on the highest salaries, to one per cent. on salaries of £100 a-year, should be made in paying the public servants.

This proposal evinced great disinterestedness on the part of Lord Harris, as the largest percentage of deduction would have applied, under the rule he suggested, only to his own salary: but it did not seem to be a course that ought to be adopted. The instructions that were transmitted to him, therefore, were to the effect, that a deficiency of revenue to meet the indispensable demands of the public service might make a reduction of the salaries of public officers unavoidable, but that, as the salaries of public servants had been determined and accepted on the assumption that the rate of income assigned to them is assured, the salaries of offices which were not vacant could not, with justice be reduced in anticipation of an apprehended deficiency, but only for the purpose of meeting one that had actually occurred, and in that case the percentage of deduction must

* House of Commons Sessional Paper of 1849. No. 280. p. 4.

be an equal one from all salaries whatever, or, at all events, from all salaries exceeding £150 a-year.

He was also informed that, to meet the immediate difficulty, which had arisen mainly from the circumstance that the Commissioners who had been authorized to raise a loan for the expenses incurred on immigration had failed in doing so, owing to the great pressure in the money-market, Her Majesty's Government proposed to obtain the sanction of Parliament (which was granted) for making the required advance from the British Treasury, and that the Colony was in future to be relieved (as I have already mentioned) from the expense of the introduction of liberated Africans. Instructions were also given with respect to some reductions of establishment which appeared to be practicable, a large discretion being given to the Governor to adopt such other measures as he might consider to be most expedient for adjusting the balance between the receipts and the expenditure of the Colony.

Lord Harris acted with great firmness and judgement on these instructions. He revised the establishments, and postponed all expenses not of the most pressing nature, but did not make the contemplated deduction from the salaries of the public servants, or postpone the operation of an ordinance which, (availing himself of the power granted to the Colonial Legislature by the Act of Parliament of 1846,) he had passed in 1847, for the purpose of repealing the Parliamentary differential duties, and at the same time considerably reducing the general rate

of duties on imports. When the ordinance in question was passed, it was arranged that it should take effect from the commencement of 1849; and notwithstanding the great financial difficulties which were experienced in 1848, this arrangement was not departed from, in the confidence, (which events have proved to be well grounded,) that, notwithstanding the severity of the crisis which the Colony was undergoing, its resources were sufficient to bring it through its difficulties, and that the revival of its trade and industry would be promoted by relieving its commerce from the burdens to which it was subject; so that, notwithstanding the apparent sacrifice of revenue it involved, the proposed alteration of the tariff was a measure to which, for financial not less than for other reasons, it was expedient to adhere.

The anticipated improvement began to show itself, both in the financial and industrial prospects of the Colony, even earlier than might have been expected. On the 1st of February, 1849*, Lord Harris, in giving an account of the condition of the Island for the previous year, had to describe a large falling off in the exports, imports, and revenue of the Colony for 1848. The exports, though not greatly diminished in quantity, were less in value in 1848 than they had been in 1847 by upwards of £211,000; the diminution in the imports exceeded £120,000, and in the revenue £20,000; but at the same time the

* Blue Book Reports, presented to Parliament in 1849.

Governor reported that, notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, and his having been obliged to expend £10,000 on buildings, he had been able to reduce the expenditure within the gross revenue* (viz. £79,425), and that he hoped to have it in his power to carry on the Government still more economically in the year then beginning. He added that wages had been reduced by one-fourth, and in some places by a third, but that a want of hands was felt more severely than ever.

In this reduction of wages (which, I have already remarked, we always calculated upon as the certain result of the reduction in the price of sugar consequent upon the admission of foreign sugar into the British market), and in the diminution of the other expenses of the Planters by the economy introduced into the Government, and the lowering of the duties upon imports, there were, in the midst of existing difficulties, the certain seeds of speedy improvement. The want of hands which was complained of was met, partly by a small amount of immigration, and especially by the introduction of a certain number of liberated Africans, and partly (as I should infer from various circumstances, though I have no direct evidence of the fact) by increased exertion after a time on the part of the previous population. Thus the produce of the Island was increased, and at the same time it was raised at less cost than before; and on the

* It appears that in the *gross* revenue Lord Harris includes the amount received by loan, which must have been about £20,000.

20th of February, 1850*, Lord Harris was enabled to report that for the year 1849 the exports showed in quantity a very good return, having amounted to 49,000,000 lbs.†, being 9,000,000 lbs. above the average of the nine preceding years, and inferior only to the export of one of those years, viz. 1847, in which there had been an extraordinary crop.

The revival of this great branch of Colonial industry naturally led to an improvement in other respects. The revenue for 1849 showed an increase upon that for the previous year of £25,100, and gave an excess above the expenditure of £14,865; the imports also increased by no less a sum than £170,000, nearly coming up to the average of the nine preceding years, —the value of the imports in 1849 having been £481,562, the average of the nine previous years being £500,000. This is a remarkable change for the better, to have taken place in a single year in the state of affairs in the Colony, and affords, as it appears to me, a decisive proof of the soundness of the policy which had been pursued with regard to it —a conclusion which is confirmed by the continuance and progressive increase of improvement up to the present time.

From the two Annual Reports‡ succeeding those which I have already quoted, it appears that the sugar

* Blue Book Reports, presented in 1850, Part II. p. 210.

† It may be inferred, though it is not expressly mentioned that this statement includes cocoa and coffee as well as sugar.

‡ Dated February 10, 1851, and May 18, 1852.

crop of 1850 was not a good one, but the exports of sugar and cocoa were larger both in quantity and value in 1851 than in the previous year, the crop of cocoa being considerably the largest ever raised in the Island. The revenue has continued steadily to advance, showing in each year a large surplus over the expenditure; so that the Governor has been enabled first to reduce, and for the present year to abolish altogether, the export duty on the principal articles of produce in the Colony. This tax in the year 1849 produced £13,556, and had ranged in former years from £13,000 to £18,000 a-year; consequently, by its remission, the Planters have been materially relieved. This abolition of an impost very injurious to commerce has been effected, without arresting the progress of various measures calculated to promote the advance of the Colony in civilization and prosperity, but involving no inconsiderable expenditure.

Great improvements have been effected, and are still going on, in the roads; and arrangements have been made for increasing the facilities of intercommunication afforded by the Post-office, and for the better administration of justice, and the maintenance of order by the police. The accomplishment of these most important objects, without an undue addition to the demands upon the general revenue, has been rendered practicable, principally, by a very valuable ordinance, called the Territorial Ordinance, which was passed by Lord Harris, and brought into

operation at the close of 1848. By this ordinance the Colony has been divided into wards, and provision has been made for the creation of municipal bodies, whenever the number of inhabitants capable of undertaking the management of their own local concerns, and willing to do so, shall be sufficient for the purpose. In the meantime wardens have been appointed, for the performance of part of the duties which will ultimately devolve upon elective municipal bodies, and rates have been levied and applied under the direction of these officers, for the construction and repair of the roads, and for objects of a similar local character.

The average produce of these rates, for the last two years, has been about £19,000; and the Ordinance has been reported to be working exceedingly well, and to be likely to become more useful as it is brought into more perfect operation. Already it has, I trust, been the means of averting a great danger. In his last annual report Lord Harris mentions that, when it came into operation, "small Settlements were in the act of formation in wild districts of the Island, which are totally incapable of supporting the commonest requirements of civilized society. These would have become the nest of the idle, the dissolute, and the criminal; but I hope an effective check has been administered." The check adverted to by Lord Harris is that created by the imposition of rates on land occupied in the manner he describes, together with the appointment of officers whose duty it is to

enforce the laws, and more especially a law which was passed about three years ago, to facilitate the ejection of squatters from land to which they have no legal right. These measures are calculated to prove highly conducive to the improvement of the Colony and the progress of the inhabitants in civilization, especially in combination with the facilities which have lately been afforded for the acquisition by the working-classes of village allotments, in suitable situations, where, under arrangements made by Lord Harris, they can now purchase small freeholds, on terms affording great encouragement to industry.

It will be observed, that the establishment of a system of local rating, and the steps which have been taken to prevent land from being appropriated without being paid for, are in strict accordance with those views which I have endeavoured to explain in my last Letter, as to the best mode of promoting the industry of a population placed in such circumstances as that of Trinidad; but I should be sorry to represent them as more than the first steps towards the adoption of a policy which I believe to be sound, but which, not having been acted upon in proper time, and when it might easily have been so, can now be only brought into operation by degrees, and with very great caution.

That further measures in the same direction are urgently required is, I think, clearly shown by the remarkable account of the results of the census of Trinidad in 1851, contained in Lord Harris's last annual

Report. In that Report, after giving some details with respect to the numbers of different classes of the population, he proceeds to state that, without reckoning children under ten years of age, there are "more than 10,000 persons, out of a population of less than 70,000, having no employment; and of those, 8000 turn out to be inhabitants of Port of Spain. I think it necessary," he goes on to observe, "to call attention to this fact, because it must be remembered that in a community such as this there are no idlers among the better classes; so that a seventh of the whole population of the Colony, nearly a fourth of the adult population, and more than half of the total population of the chief town, are composed of persons in the lower ranks of life, and having no visible means of gaining an existence." Lord Harris adds, "It appears to me, that such a state of things requires very serious consideration, and urgently demands some remedy,"—an opinion which must command universal concurrence.

I believe the required remedy is to be sought in carrying forward cautiously and gradually, but at the same time decidedly, that course of policy which has been entered upon with so much advantage. I am persuaded that both the advancement in civilization of the lower classes of society, and the prosperity of the Planters, would be promoted by acting, further than has yet been done, on the principle of providing by direct local rates for objects of real importance to the population, but which they are too ignorant, if left to themselves, to care for. It is in the highest degree

desirable to extend and improve the provision made for the education and religious instruction of the population, and for giving relief and medical aid to the destitute and to the sick; and if funds for these important objects were raised, as they easily might be, by a direct impost from which even the idlest could not escape, in addition to the direct advantage to be gained from the expenditure of the money so levied, an indirect but perhaps not less real advantage would arise from the effect of such an impost, in increasing the amount of exertion necessary to obtain a mere animal existence, since this would also increase the supply of labour to the Planter.

While the government of Trinidad remains in the hands of Lord Harris, the utmost reliance may be placed on his following up the policy he has so well begun; and in looking forward to further measures of improvement, it is a just subject for congratulation that, by what has already been accomplished, the Colony has been brought safely through the severe crisis it has had to pass, and that there is no longer even the slightest pretence for apprehending that cessation of sugar cultivation in this fertile Island, which four years ago was confidently predicted as the inevitable result of the commercial policy adopted by Parliament. On the contrary, the only question now is, as to the greater or less degree of rapidity with which the Colony will advance in that career of improvement on which it has undoubtedly entered; and the probability is that in the next few years

there will be a large increase in its produce. This will be promoted by the measures now in progress, for procuring an additional supply of labour by immigration. Trinidad has obtained a portion of the loan guaranteed by Parliament for the purpose of immigration, and by means of it a considerable number of labourers will be introduced from India, some of whom have already arrived. There is reason to hope that this will be attended with far greater advantage to the Colony than the former immigration from the same quarter, as, by the law now in force, and which is founded on the same principle with the Mauritius Ordinance to which I have adverted above, most of the evils which were experienced in former years have, I trust, been guarded against, and provision has been made for obtaining the repayment from the immigrants, in the manner I have explained, of a large proportion at least of the expense incurred in bringing them from India.

Steps have also been taken within the last two years for procuring immigrants of a far more valuable description. I refer to the free black and coloured inhabitants of the United States. These people are regarded as an encumbrance, and their presence is considered a most serious evil in the States which they now inhabit, while there can be no doubt that many of them would be the best possible settlers who could be introduced into Trinidad. Speaking the English language, with habits of industry and of civilized life, and well adapted by their constitution

to the climate, there seems no reason to doubt the success of black and coloured immigrants from the United States. Provided a proper selection is made of the individuals to be brought, their introduction could not fail to be of the highest value to the Colony, not only from the actual accession to its population which would thus be obtained, but from the example which they would afford to its present inhabitants. Such an addition to the existing population of Trinidad would have a tendency to raise the whole community in the scale of civilization, whereas there is precisely the opposite tendency with respect to immigration from almost every other quarter, and this is no slight drawback to the advantage to be obtained from it.

Last year an agent was sent from Trinidad to some of the Southern States of the American Union, for the purpose of inquiring into the practicability of obtaining immigrants of this description; and the information collected by him was, in my opinion, far from discouraging, though I fear this is not the view of the subject which has been adopted by the leading Colonists, without whose active support an experiment, which would be a most interesting one, cannot be tried with any prospect of success*.

* I cannot help here expressing my surprise that the attention of none of our merchants and capitalists has been directed to the Slave States of America as a source from which to obtain a supply of labour, and to the great returns which by means of that labour might be obtained from the fertile lands of Trinidad and Guiana. There is no doubt, I believe, that a large amount of British capital has

I will here close what I rather fear may be found a somewhat tedious account of the progress of Trinidad during the last six years, only apologizing for the length to which this part of my Letter has extended, by observing that I have thought it advisable to enter

been directly or indirectly invested in sugar cultivation in Cuba and Brazil, and it is to be feared that some of that capital may have been employed in the purchase of slaves illegally imported from Africa. The natural advantages of the British Colonies I have mentioned are, as I believe, much superior—most certainly they are not inferior—to those of either Cuba or Brazil, while they have an immense advantage over both in the perfect security they enjoy, and over Cuba at least in the lightness of their taxation. This being the case, the question naturally suggests itself, might not a given sum of money be applied to greater advantage in procuring labour from the Slave States of America to cultivate the rich soils of Trinidad and Guiana, than in purchasing slave-labour in foreign dominions? Why should not the owner of an estate in one of these Colonies liberate by purchase, and settle upon his property, a whole gang of slaves from some of the worn-out tobacco or cotton plantations in Virginia and Maryland, taking from them an engagement to repay out of their wages by instalments an amount sufficient to cover the price of their freedom, the cost of their removal to the Colony, and a fair percentage to meet the risk of loss? Looking to the great sacrifices and dangers willingly submitted to by many of the slaves in the United States to effect their escape to Canada, it seems reasonable to conclude that they would joyfully accept a proposal to obtain their freedom and their removal to another part of the British dominions, of which the climate is far better adapted to their constitution than that of Canada, and to which they might be conveyed without risk or hardship, in company with their friends and relations. The ready concurrence of the slaves in such an arrangement may therefore, I think, be reckoned upon, and in the present state of feeling in the United States on the subject of slavery I believe that many of the slave-owners, more especially in the most northern of the Slave States, would no less gladly avail themselves of such a mode of relieving themselves from a description of property which it is daily becoming

into these details, because this Colony affords a more complete illustration than any other, both of the difficulties which have had to be encountered in our Sugar Colonies, and of the policy by which I believe those difficulties may ultimately be surmounted.

July 31, 1852.

more difficult and more painful to them to retain. It might also be well worth inquiry on the part of the non-resident owners of West Indian property, whether they might not derive far more advantage from their estates than they now do (or are ever likely to do under the present system of management) by letting them to experienced American planters, who might be induced to come over and occupy them, at the head of their slaves, emancipated for the purpose, on such terms as I have suggested. Many American planters are known to have gone to Cuba, and I have no doubt they might with far more advantage go to a British Colony, taking their slaves with them, after giving them their freedom on condition of paying by instalments what they would fetch if sold. For the success of measures of this kind, all that seems to be necessary is that the liberated slaves should be treated with the utmost fairness and consideration, and that provision should be made, by laws to be passed by the Colonial Legislatures (if the existing laws are insufficient for the purpose), for the easy recovery of the instalments due from these immigrants. The attention of the local Legislatures was some time since called to the importance of this subject.

LETTER IV.

GUIANA.—JAMAICA.—BARBADOES.

My dear Lord John,

In this Letter I propose to treat of those Sugar Colonies over which the authority of the Crown is more or less restricted by the institutions they possess. The first of these, of which I have to notice the transactions, is British Guiana. It is true that British Guiana is included amongst what are called the Crown Colonies, as it is one of those which were acquired by conquest, and in which the Crown therefore exercises the power of legislation by Order in Council; but it stands in a different position from the other Crown Colonies, inasmuch as it possesses a Constitution, by which the power of the Crown is much more limited than in the Colonies to which I have hitherto referred, especially with regard to the imposition of taxes and the appropriation of the revenue. The Constitution which now exists in British Guiana is a somewhat complicated one; but having been gradually moulded

into its present shape, to meet wants and difficulties which have from time to time arisen, I believe it to be far from unsuitable to the existing state of society, and with some modifications, which were in progress when I gave up the seals of the Colonial Department (and which, so far as I can gather from the newspapers, seem still likely to be proceeded with) will probably be as good a form of government as the peculiar circumstances of the Colony will admit of.

It is not necessary for the objects I have in view in this Letter, to give any detailed account of the Guiana Constitution; it will be sufficient to mention, that a body called the Court of Policy, in which the number of official and unofficial members is equal, the Governor having a casting vote, possesses the general power of legislation, but without the right of levying taxes, or making appropriations from the Colonial revenue*. These powers the members of the Court of Policy can only exercise when sitting in what is called "the Combined Court," with certain persons who are known as the "Financial Representatives," and are, as their name implies, elected to the office they hold. Till lately, however, the Financial Representatives were chosen by about 800 persons only, out of a population of 120,000, and were really not the representatives of the people, but of the merchants, planters, and absentee proprietors. In the Court of Policy, the Governor, by the official votes and his own cast-

* This latter limitation is, in strictness, only in force during the continuance of the Civil List.

ing vote, can always command a majority, though this is a power never exercised but with great reluctance. In the Combined Court, on the contrary, the addition of the Financial Representatives leaves him without the power of carrying any measure, unless he can obtain the support of some, at least, of the elective members.

Such being the general nature of the Constitution of Guiana, I propose, in adverting to its transactions, to confine myself almost entirely to giving a short account of the progress and consequences of the unfortunate differences between the Governor and the Combined Court, which for some time interrupted the regular working of the Government. There has been much correspondence, during the last six years, with the Governor of Guiana, on the subjects of immigration and of the means to be employed for promoting the industry of the population; but the measures recommended on these heads, and partially adopted, have been so precisely the same in principle with those suggested to other Colonies, that in speaking of Guiana I may omit any further notice of these important questions, than a mere reference to the despatches which have been written upon them *.

* The following are the most material of these Despatches, which will be found in the Papers laid before Parliament:—Circular of October 23, 1846, to Governors of West Indian Colonies. To Governor Light, January 18, February 28, April 1, May 23, June 30, 1848. To Governor Barkly, June 1, June 16, July 31, September 30, December 15, 1849; February 15 and 16, May 1, June 15, 1850; July 8, 1851.

With regard to the differences which arose between the Government of Guiana and the Combined Court, what has occurred is as follows.

Of the whole expenditure of the Colony, about one-seventh constitutes what is called the Civil List, on which are charged the salaries of the Governor, the Judges, and some of the other public servants. The amount of these various charges is determined by an ordinance, passed by the Combined Court, which is to continue in force until the 31st of December, 1854; and of course, until this law expires, none of these charges can be altered, except by another ordinance, which requires the assent of the Crown. In this respect the Civil List of Guiana resembles the Civil List of this Country, or those parts of the expenditure of the United Kingdom which are charged by Act of Parliament on the Consolidated Fund. The remainder of the Colonial expenditure requires the annual sanction of the Combined Court, like the grants submitted to the House of Commons in Committee of Supply.

No question has ever been raised, as to the full power of the Combined Court to deal as it might think fit with the latter portion of the Colonial expenditure. The differences which have led to so much discussion have been occasioned by a claim put forward by the Combined Court, to insist on a reduction of the charges on the Civil List. The first suggestion of such a reduction was made by the Court of Policy in December, 1847, when the elective mem-

bers of the Court carried resolutions, in which they prayed for the consent of Her Majesty's Government to a reduction of 25 per cent. on all salaries charged on the Civil List, in consideration of the distressed state of the Colony, arising from the great fall which had taken place in the price of sugar. These resolutions were transmitted to this Country by the Governor, in his despatch of the 1st of January, 1848 *; but before an answer to it could be received, the elective members of the Court proceeded to require the postponement of the consideration of the estimates of the year, in order, as it was stated, that there might be time, before the estimates were passed, to learn what might be the intentions of the Government with regard to the relief of the Colony.

When this course was decided upon, intelligence had reached Guiana, of the efforts which the West Indian party were making in this Country, to prevail upon Parliament to abandon the policy of 1846; and it is perfectly well known, that to promote the success of these efforts at home was the real object of the measure adopted by the leaders of the opposition in the Colony. The Governor, in the postscript of his despatch of the 18th of March, 1848†, says, "It seems to be the general opinion that the measures proposed to be adopted to stop the supplies emanate from the West Indians in England connected with this Colony." In his despatch of the 31st of March

* See House of Lords Sessional Paper of 1848, page 451.

† Page 630, House of Lords Paper, No. 250 of 1848.

he transmitted resolutions laid before the Court of Policy by one of the elective members, in which the intention of refusing the usual supplies is distinctly placed on the ground that protection had been denied to the British Sugar-grower; and Mr. Gordon, one of the principal planters in the Colony, in his correspondence with the Colonial Reform Association, has since distinctly asserted that the attempt to cut down the Civil List "was in the first instance suggested by the Protectionists, as a part of a general system for embarrassing Government with a view of regaining lost protection*."

Such was the real object of the proposal to reduce the salaries on the Civil List; the professed ground for it was the distressed condition of the Colony. But, with every desire to adopt any measures calculated really to relieve the distress which undoubtedly weighed heavily on the Planters, it did not appear to us that there was the slightest reason for believing that the reduction which was insisted upon with so much violence would afford any perceptible relief, or that there was any necessity for having recourse to it, while it was open to obvious and strong objections. The amount of relief which the proposed reduction was calculated to afford to the Planters could hardly be of much importance, since the Civil List, as I have stated, constituted only about one-seventh of the whole expenditure of the Colony; while, of the taxes by which this expenditure was provided for, only a very small

* House of Commons Sessional Paper of 1851, No. 624, p. 486.

proportion fell on the cultivators of sugar. There was certainly no financial occasion for the measure, since, notwithstanding the difficulties of the proprietors, the Colonial revenue, instead of having fallen off since the Civil List had been settled, had continued to increase; and the measure was open to the greatest objection, not only as a departure from an arrangement deliberately assented to by the Combined Court, but as involving a breach of faith with the public servants, who had accepted the offices of which it was attempted to reduce the emoluments, on the full assurance that their salaries had been secured to them, at least until the expiration of the period for which the Civil List had been granted. Among the persons by whom this would have been felt the most severely, were the Judges and law officers, some of whom, as has since been shown by the present Governor, had sacrificed professional incomes far exceeding their salaries, for the purpose of accepting the offices they held. A diminution of twenty-five per cent. in their salaries would therefore have been an act of extreme injustice*.

For these reasons it was determined not to comply with the demand which was advanced, although it was well understood that, if it were refused, the elective members of the Court of Policy would, in the Combined Court, where they had a clear majority, refuse to pass the annual tax ordinance, by which the greater

* See Governor Barkly's despatch of May 6, 1849, and the answer to it of the 14th of July. (House of Commons Sessional Papers of 1849, No. 594, pp. 161 and 199.)

part of the Colonial revenue is raised, and would thus to a great extent deprive the Government of the means of carrying on the public service. As had been foreseen, after a correspondence, too long to refer to in detail, during which the usual taxes were continued from the 30th of June till the 30th of September, the Combined Court ultimately suffered them to expire from that day, and the Governor was left without any resources (beyond those arising from some comparatively small taxes levied under permanent laws,) to meet the necessary expenses of the Government.

It was probably anticipated, by those who suggested this mode of proceeding on the part of the Combined Court, that the embarrassment in which the Government would thus be placed, would compel us to apply to Parliament for power to continue to levy the usual taxes without the sanction of the Combined Court, or to have recourse to some other expedient involving a departure from the regular and established mode of conducting the Government of the Colony. In the then state of parties in the House of Commons, we should in either case have been exposed to a defeat, which would have greatly promoted the success of those who were struggling to recover for the British Sugar-grower the monopoly of the home market, of which he had been deprived. The course however which, after much consideration, we decided upon adopting, was a very different one from that which seems to have been expected.

The Governor was instructed not to assent to the

desired diminution of the salaries of public servants actually holding offices charged on the Civil List, so long as the ordinance providing for them should remain in force; but he was informed that, in the event of any of these offices falling vacant, Her Majesty's Government would be ready to listen to any recommendation of the Combined Court for the reduction of their emoluments, before they were filled up. The grounds of this determination were explained, and it was pointed out, that the adoption by the Combined Court of the unreasonable course of withholding the pecuniary means required for carrying on the public service, would have no effect in inducing Her Majesty's servants to recommend to Parliament, or Parliament to sanction, the change in our commercial policy which the planters believed would relieve them. He was informed that he must strictly confine himself to the exercise of his legal powers, and that those public services for which he was refused the means of providing must be discontinued, even if this involved disbanding the police and shutting up the hospitals, and an interruption of the regular administration of justice; and that, if the usual Colonial allowances were not paid to the officers of Her Majesty's troops serving in the Colony, the troops would be withdrawn. The Governor was further informed, that no more liberated Africans could be sent to the Colony, so long as no provision was made for the maintenance of the public establishments required for taking care of them.

These instructions were contained in various de-

spatches*, written, some of them before and some after the final refusal of the Combined Court to vote the usual taxes. They were dictated by the conviction that it was our duty, as servants of the Crown, not to allow ourselves to be driven from that commercial policy which we believed to be the right one, no less for the real interest of the Colonies than for that of this Country, by a threat on the part of the Planters to adopt measures, of which the consequences would really fall almost exclusively upon themselves. For my own part, I greatly regretted the certain increase of the difficulties of the Colonists, and the great danger to their lives and property which might arise from their refusing to the Government the means of meeting the charges of the civil establishment, including the police; but I did not think that those who were determined to proceed to these extremities ought to be relieved from the consequences of their own conduct, either by appealing to Parliament to set aside the Constitution of the Colony, or by yielding to the unreasonable demands which the measures they had had recourse to were intended to enforce. On the contrary, I thought it absolutely necessary that they should be made to feel that we would not flinch from the course we had deliberately adopted, and that they must be prepared to meet the

* See particularly the Despatches to the Governor of the 15th of February, and 11th and 17th of June, 1848, and of the 15th of January, 16th of April, and 14th of July, 1849. These Despatches will all be found in the correspondence laid before the House of Commons in 1849.

consequences of their own measures, of which the responsibility would rest solely on themselves. I was persuaded that, by acting with patience and firmness on this policy, those who exercised a predominating influence in the Colony would at length be brought to understand, that they could gain nothing by depriving the local Government of the means of carrying on the public service, and of maintaining establishments, in the existence of which we in this Country have but a comparatively slight and indirect interest, but which are absolutely necessary for the welfare, and even for the safety, of the Colonists.

The result answered my expectation; and after allowing the usual collection of taxes to be suspended for nearly eleven months, the Combined Court, in the month of August, 1849, passed an ordinance (which was afterwards renewed) to revive the tax ordinance of 1847 for three months, until some further arrangement could be made; and on the 1st of December following the Governor was enabled to report the final and satisfactory termination of the controversy relating to the Civil List, and the passing of all the usual financial measures.

The successful conclusion of this harassing affair was much promoted by the circumstance that a Committee, appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the subject, agreed to a report expressing an opinion in favour of the binding character of the Civil List arrangement in Guiana; but the result was in a far greater degree due to the firmness and judgement with

which the affairs of the Colony were administered by Mr. Barkly, who had been appointed Governor toward the close of the year 1848. It is probable that, but for the remarkable skill and ability with which, on his assumption of the Government, that gentleman applied himself to the settlement of the unfortunate differences which he found existing between the Executive Government and the Combined Court, the accomplishment of this important object would not have been obtained without much greater delay. Far more serious injury to the Colony must also have resulted from this protracted struggle, but for the success with which he endeavoured to diminish the demands upon the Government during the interruption of the levy of taxes, and to render the very limited pecuniary resources at that time at his disposal available in carrying on the most essential branches of the public service.

But although the differences which put a stop, while they lasted, to the regular working of the government, were brought to a close at an earlier period, and upon the whole with less detriment to the Colony, than might have been expected, their consequences have nevertheless been highly injurious to its interests. In the first place, the loss of revenue to the Colony by the interruption for above ten months of the ordinary taxes, is calculated by the Governor at upwards of £150,000*. Considering that the importation of

* 760,000 dollars. See Governor Barkly's Despatch of December 5, 1849. (House of Commons Sessional Papers of 1850, No. 21, p. 251.)

goods usually liable to duties was checked for some time before the actual cessation of the power to collect the duties, by the expectation that it would take place, and that while it lasted considerable stocks of these goods were naturally accumulated, which had to be consumed after the tax ordinance was revived, there seems reason to believe that the calculation of the Governor, as to the loss to the revenue, must be rather below than above the truth. By this loss of revenue, a formidable deficiency was created; and although the permanent sources of income were sufficient to avert the actual bankruptcy of the Local Government, a debt had been incurred at the end of the year 1849, of £40,000, which the Governor says would have been quadrupled "if the Combined Court had not at length availed itself of its power to economize on a large scale, instead of persisting in its attempt to strike off a few thousand dollars from a Civil List to which the faith of the Legislature was pledged for a given time*."

Nor did the community derive, from the interruption of the collection of the ordinary duties, that relief which is usually conferred by a remission of taxation. A few individuals, who happened to have goods which could be introduced while the duties were suspended for a comparatively short and uncertain period, obtained the chief advantage from what was thus lost to the public, and no small proportion of it fell to the lot of the foreign holders

* See Despatch above referred to.

of gin and tobacco, the price of which was run up in the markets of Surinam and St. Thomas by the suddenness of the demand. The Governor states in his despatch, that the debt incurred (which it was fortunate for the Colony was so small) would be paid by the former taxes, which had been re-established; and he observes, that this affords a convincing proof of the elasticity of the Colony's resources, of the continued prosperity of the great bulk of its inhabitants, and that the leading proprietors were not justified by the state or prospects of the revenue in stopping the supplies. He points out, that in doing so they had acted very unwisely for their own pecuniary interests, since, by adopting that course, in addition to exciting ideas of insubordination in the minds of their labourers, shaking the credit of everybody connected with the Colony, and aggravating the depreciation of property, they had also postponed for three years a reduction of taxation, which it was in their power to have effected immediately. In 1851 taxes were remitted to an amount not far short of £40,000, including the repeal of the Income and Produce Tax, and the reduction of shipping charges and of the duties on imports. The material relief which will thus be afforded to the trade and industry of the Colony, might have been obtained with equal facility in 1848, if the leading planters, who exercised a predominating influence in the Combined Court, would in that year have consented to apply themselves to a calm consideration of practicable and judicious financial reforms, instead of embarking in a

reckless struggle with the Executive Government, nominally for an unjust reduction of a few thousand dollars of annual expenditure, but really for the recovery of their lost monopoly.

But the pecuniary loss which the Colony has incurred by this struggle, into which the Planters were so ill-advised as to be led by those who called themselves their friends, is by no means the most serious part of the injury that has resulted from it. A much greater evil is the delay it has occasioned (I still hope only a delay,) in the accomplishment of many measures of improvement of the most urgent necessity. I have, in a former Letter, adverted to the very unsatisfactory condition of the labouring population of Guiana, and to the startling fact that the emancipated Negroes were reported in 1848 to have rather gone back than advanced in civilization since the Abolition of Slavery, and I have pointed out the general character of the measures which I conceive to be necessary for the correction of so great an evil. How pressing is the need for such measures, will be seen on reference to the very able despatches of the Governor*; but in his despatch of the 2nd of February, 1850, after expressing his "cordial concurrence" in my views, as to the policy which ought to be adopted, he goes on to say, "If the fruit of my exertions yet remains to be developed, in the passing through the Colonial Legislature a series of measures calculated

* See especially that of the 17th April, 1850, and that of the 24th September of the same year.

to effect the foregoing objects, I am confident your Lordship will make allowance for the political turmoil to be surmounted before the attention of elective members could be attracted to questions so much less exciting, though so much more useful, than those to which they had unhappily suffered their attention to be diverted."

It is impossible not to recognize the validity of this excuse, for the Governor's having failed to make more rapid progress with the legislation which is required for the improvement of the Colony. I trust however that this legislation will now be proceeded with; indeed, since the excitement of the political struggle has subsided, the Court of Policy has been assiduously engaged in the consideration of business of an urgent kind, to which it had previously been impossible to attend, and several useful measures have been carried, calculated to prepare the way for those larger and more important measures which I believe to be necessary. Amongst those already carried are ordinances for the encouragement of Immigration, founded on the same principle as the Mauritius law, which I have already described; a valuable ordinance for the establishment of Rural Constables, which is reported to be working very usefully*; and, in connection with this, a subsequent ordinance for regulating the powers and duties of Justices of the Peace. To this list may be added the ordinances (which are perhaps the most important of the whole)

* See Blue Book Report for 1850, p. 199.

for effecting the comprehensive legal reforms, of which Mr. Arindell, the late Attorney-General (who now, I am happy to see, has obtained the promotion he so well deserves, and has been appointed Chief Justice), was the author. These Ordinances do the greatest credit to the judgement and ability of Mr. Arindell, and will, I believe, confer on Guiana the advantage of a speedy, cheap, and satisfactory administration of the law.

Some changes have also been effected, or are now in progress, in the Constitution of the Colony. I have already mentioned, that the Financial Representatives (who, with the Members of the Court of Policy, constitute the Combined Court, which has the control of the Colonial finances,) were formerly chosen by a body of electors not exceeding in all eight hundred in number, and so composed as to give a virtual command of the elections to a few of the leading bankers, merchants, and planters. In 1849 an ordinance was passed greatly extending the franchise, and a comparatively large proportion of the population would now be entitled to take part in the election of Financial Representatives, if they took sufficient interest in public affairs to claim their right to be registered as electors. Other changes are still under consideration. During the continuance of the dispute with the Combined Court, an agitation was raised in favour of the entire alteration of the present Constitution, and the substitution of one precisely similar to those which exist in the older West Indian Colonies, which possess

Representative Assemblies, exercising, in conjunction with the Governor and Council, all the powers of legislation. The state of society in Guiana, where there is an extremely small proportion of Europeans, the remainder of the population being made up of various different races, for the most part little advanced in civilization and altogether deficient in the education and intelligence necessary for the safe exercise of political power, rendered such a change in this Colony in my opinion altogether inexpedient. But some modifications of the existing Constitution seemed to be desirable; I therefore, in the course of last year, communicated on the subject with several of the principal proprietors and merchants connected with the Colony, including some gentlemen who usually reside there, but were at that time in this Country. These gentlemen entered with me upon the consideration of the reforms it would be advisable to introduce, in a manner for which I had reason to feel deeply indebted to them; their views were frankly and fully explained to me, and they received in the most friendly and candid spirit the opinions which I thought it right to express on their suggestions. The result was, that they agreed to resolutions recommending certain amendments in the Constitution of the Colony, which met with my entire concurrence; and these resolutions having been officially communicated to me, I transmitted them to the Governor, with a view to their being submitted to the Court of Policy and carried into effect. I gather, from what has appeared in the newspapers, that our

retirement from office is not likely to lead to the abandonment of these projected reforms, but that they will still most probably be adopted.

Having thus given an account of our measures with regard to Guiana, I must, before taking leave of that Colony, say a few words as to the effects of the policy on which we acted with regard to it, on its prospects and actual condition. It is of course impossible that so great an improvement should have been effected in the state of society, and in the industrial condition of the Colony, as I believe might have been accomplished, if those interested in its welfare could have been persuaded at an earlier period, that we had the same object in view with themselves, and could have been induced to support, or at all events to abstain from thwarting, our measures; but still the policy which has been pursued has been by no means barren of advantage. Though laws have not yet been passed in Guiana doing all that is required to alter the state of things to which the indisposition to exertion shown by the population may be attributed, the measures which I have mentioned as having been adopted in the Colony have had some effect in this direction; and still more has been produced by the change in this Country in our commercial policy. The wholesome stimulus of competition is beginning to tell on the labouring as well as the other classes in Guiana, in urging them to greater industry (which must be the foundation of all improvement), and in correcting those bad habits which the artificial enhancement of

the value of their labour by the monopoly given to British sugar in the home market had so much contributed to create. The Governor, on the 18th of April, 1850, reported that, though "the money rate of wages was unaltered, the real price of labour, measured by quantity and quality, has fallen in a proportion approaching at least the decline in the value of sugar." I must add that there is some remarkable evidence, where it might have been little expected to be found, that labour in Guiana is no longer so extravagantly dear as formerly, and is actually far less expensive than it was during slavery. For the last two or three years a Committee of Officers has been employed in inquiring into our naval and military establishments abroad, for the purpose of reporting to the Treasury on the reductions of expense which may be practicable. In their report upon Guiana the Committee recommend that it should be ascertained whether the contract system of transport might not be adopted in that Colony, on the ground that "the contract rate for a cart, horse, and driver was £1. 5*s.* 5*d.* a day in the time of slavery, and is now 8*s.* 4*d**."

I will conclude what I have to say about Guiana, as I have done in the case of Mauritius, by inserting at

* See Reports of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Naval, Ordnance, and Commissariat Establishments and Expenditure in the Colonies, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, p. 219.

length two recent despatches from the Governor, giving an account of its actual condition.

"*Government House,* 12 *November,* 1851.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to transmit the Half-yearly Reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates for the half-year ending the 30th June last, and to explain, that they have been delayed by the desire of most of the magistrates to calculate the centesimal proportions to the population, according to the recent Census, the compilation of which is only just completed.

"From the Consolidated Tables, your Lordship will perceive that the accounts of the moral condition of the peasantry do not exhibit so decided an improvement as that which is going on in the material prosperity of the country; but there appears to be, at any rate, a mitigation of those symptoms which were calculated to cause anxiety, if not alarm; for the returns show no diminution in the number of labourers at work, and no increase of crime, whilst, notwithstanding the apathy reported to be prevalent amongst parents with respect to the education of their children, six new schools have been opened within the period.

"If indeed the improvement in the condition of the country should be continuous and permanent, there can be no doubt it will soon re-act beneficially on the labouring population, by enabling proprietors to resume those efforts for the promotion of religion and education which in so many cases were interrupted by dire necessity, and by stimulating the Legislature to make more liberal provision for the same purpose.

"The situation of proprietors is unquestionably better

than it has been for some years past; and if they act prudently in not extending their cultivation faster than they can secure the manufacture of its products, either by improved machinery or by the introduction of fresh labourers, there seems no reason for apprehending a reverse; but everything depends upon the cost of production being kept low, a fact which, in their anxiety to increase their crops, they are but too apt to forget, and to raise the great item of the 'wages of labour' by improvident competition.

"General attention, I am happy to state, is now directed to the all-important question of drainage, and I feel confident that in a few years none of the large plantations on the sea-coast will be without its draining engine worked by steam-power, whilst the smaller estates will have to combine for the same object. The only cause of delay at present seems to be the difference of opinion among engineers, as to whether the scoop-wheel or the centrifugal pump is best adapted to the circumstances of this Colony.

"The latter principle, as applied to the very different task of separating sugar from molasses, is not quite so successful in all cases as was at first anticipated; but though requiring improvement, before it can be made applicable to curing sugar boiled by the ordinary process in open pans, it is, as mentioned in the Consolidated Tables (C. 2) rapidly superseding the pneumatic pan as a subsidiary process where the cane-juice has been boiled '*in vacuo*,' and may, I think, also pave the way for the extended use of Gaddesden and Evans's pan, or other cheaper substitutes for the vacuum, by which the juice is evaporated at so low a temperature as to give the sugar a grain which cannot be injured by the centrifugal machine.

"It is a favourable omen for the future prosperity of

British Guiana, that so much interest should be taken in such improvements, at a moment when confidence is so far restored as to induce capitalists at home to take a less desponding view of its resources as a sugar-growing country, than they have done since it was first brought into competition with Cuba and Brazil.

"I have, etc.,

"(Signed) HENRY BARKLY."

"*Government House, 9th January,* 1852.

"MY LORD,

"The comparative statements of produce exported from this Colony during the quarter and the year ending 5th instant, which I have now the honour to enclose, prove that I was not more sanguine in the anticipations which I have throughout expressed to your Lordship, of a very considerable increase in the Sugar-crop of 1851, over that of the two preceding years, than I was fairly entitled to be,—the actual excess amounting to 5682 hogsheads, or upwards of fifteen per cent.

"That that excess is in some degree attributable to a favourable season, and to the consequent richness in saccharine matter of the cane-juice, is proved by the fact of there being an actual diminution both of Rum and Molasses,—the products of the refuse in crystallizable liquor left; but it nevertheless cannot be questioned that the increased production of Sugar is mainly owing to an extension of cultivation, and to the introduction of improvements both in agriculture and in the process of manufacture, and that so far this increase is likely to prove permanent.

"But for the very low prices current indeed in Great Britain, which will, I much fear, render the 43,034 hogsheads shipped in 1851 of less value than the 37,351

shipped in 1850, I should have anticipated a progressive augmentation of the exports of the Colony, until they were at least equal to those previous to Emancipation; but I fear this event will at any rate be retarded, until confidence in the abilityof our Planters to withstand the increased competition, to which they are every day being subjected, can be restored.

"Looking however to what has been accomplished in this Colony since 1846, in reducing the cost of production, I can see no reason to despair of a very great further reduction being effected ultimately, although, I fervently trust, without the same quota of distress to be undergone in the transition*.

"I have, etc.,

(Signed) "HENRY BARKLY.

"The Right Honourable Earl Grey, etc."

I have next to call your attention to that which, from the amount of its population, and from the extent and richness in natural resources of its territory, is entitled to be considered the most important of our former Slave Colonies. I refer of course to the magnificent island of Jamaica. This Colony has for two centuries been in possession of a Representative Constitution, and the Assembly not only exercises the ordinary authority of a Legislative body, but performs many of what are usually the functions of the Executive Government, the authority of the

* Tables of the quantities of produce exported from the Colony, enclosed in the above despatch, are given in the Appendix (F) to this Volume.

Crown being more restricted than elsewhere by various laws which have at different times been passed and by usages which have grown up. But the actual condition of Jamaica, I regret to say, is far from being such as to show that the possession of the powers of self-government affords that complete security for the welfare of a community, and for the good management of its affairs, which many persons seem to suppose.

You are aware that the accounts which continue to reach this country describe Jamaica as labouring under the severest distress, nor do I believe that there is any reason for imputing much, if any, exaggeration to these statements. The Colonists and owners of property in Jamaica are loud in their complaints, and ascribe all their losses and difficulties to Imperial Legislation. The abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery, and the recent changes in our commercial policy, have been pointed out by the Assembly* in various memorials and petitions to the Queen and to the two Houses of Parlia-

* The following passages occur in the Memorial of the House of Assembly to the Queen, of the 18th of December, 1846. "We, your Majesty's loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, by permission to approach your Majesty, humbly to remonstrate against the many wrongs which we have sustained by acts of the Imperial Parliament. . . . . The establishment of Slavery was not our act, but that of the parent Government, the lands of Jamaica having been patented by your royal ancestors on the special condition that they should be cultivated by slaves for the promotion of the national wealth; and this policy was continued under sanction of British laws equally sacred as those under which any other class of your Majesty's sub-

ment, as the grievances of which they have had to complain, and the causes of the ruin which they have experienced. I have quoted in a note below some remarkable passages from one of the Memorials addressed to the Queen by the Assembly, of which I regret that the great length prevents my inserting the whole. This Memorial was voted in December, 1846, when the alteration of the sugar-duties, by which sugar the produce of slave labour was admitted to the British market, had only been enacted a very few months, and could have had no effect in producing the distress which is described in this document, in terms not less strong than those which have been

jects held their property. It is unnecessary for us here to enter into the history of the trade by which those slaves were procured; it is enough to say that, after having been most vigorously and profitably carried on for one hundred and fifty years by British ships, British merchants, and British capital, it was abolished by Act of Parliament in the year 1807. *This was the first check to the hitherto extending cultivation and prosperity of Jamaica.* The advocates for the abolition of the African slave-trade then most solemnly disclaimed all intention of seeking to interfere with the existing state of slavery in the Colonies; but scarcely had one object been accomplished, when agitation commenced with respect to the other. The first overt act of the Parliament effected by this new agitation was in the year 1815, by the introduction of a Bill in the House of Commons for registering the slaves, professedly to prevent their illegal introduction into the Colonies, but covertly to pave the way for subsequent emancipation. The next movement was in the year 1823, when Mr. Canning, then a Minister of the Crown, introduced certain resolutions into the House of Commons, conceding to out-door pressure the interests of the Colonists and the principle of slave emancipation." One remarkable sentence in this Memorial I have distinguished by italics. See House of Commons Sessional Paper of 1847, No. 160.

used at a later period. It deserves to be particularly observed, that in this Memorial, which contains an elaborate statement of the grievances of Jamaica, it is complained that the abolition of the Slave-trade by Act of Parliament was the first check to the prosperity of the Colony, and that the various steps by which slavery was first mitigated, and ultimately completely abolished, are insisted upon as the causes of the general ruin of the proprietors of the Island; the fiscal changes which had lately taken place in this Country being only adverted to as likely to become a new source of difficulty.

I believe the view thus taken of the subject by the Assembly to be so far right, that the abolition of the Slave-trade was necessarily fatal to the kind of prosperity (such as it was)* which Jamaica formerly

* I say "such as it was," for the former prosperity of Jamaica was always of a very precarious kind, and chequered by periods of severe distress. Even while the British Colonies enjoyed not only the monopoly of our market, but the unrestricted power of using slave-labour and carrying on the slave-trade, the Planters of Jamaica were frequently compelled to make urgent applications to Parliament for relief; and their business was so hazardous, that, in spite of the great gains of some seasons, there were few who realized money by it in a series of years. See the testimony to this effect of Bryan Edwards, in his 'History of the West Indies;' Lord Derby's Speech in the House of Commons, when moving, in 1833, the Resolutions on which the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery was founded; the Reports of Committees of the House of Commons of 1807 and 1832; the Report of a Committee of the House of Assembly of Jamaica in 1804, and the Petition of that House to the Prince Regent in 1811. Some extracts from these documents will be found in the Appendix (G) to this Volume.

enjoyed; and this step once taken, it became, I am convinced, impossible for the Island to enjoy durable prosperity, except by adopting an entirely different system, based, not upon slavery and commercial restrictions, but upon freedom, both personal and commercial. The only wise course therefore for the Colonists to pursue, would have been to apply themselves to the establishment of such a system, and of a new social organization, by the adoption of well-considered and judicious measures for effecting an inevitable change, with as little disturbance and with as little delay as possible. Unfortunately a very different line of conduct has been followed by those who have possessed the chief influence among the Colonists; and the same determined resistance which was made to the abolition of the Slave-trade was, afterwards made to the mitigation and the abolition of slavery, and to the alteration of our commercial policy. These successive changes have been accomplished only after struggles highly injurious to the welfare of the Colony; and thus for the last thirty years the relations between the Local Legislature and the Government at home, under successive Administrations, have, with some brief intervals, continued to be on a very unsatisfactory footing. There has been little of that harmonious co-operation between these Authorities, without which it is impossible that the affairs of the Island can be properly and efficiently conducted.

During your Administration, no effort that we

could make, without abandoning the commercial policy we thought it our duty to maintain, was omitted, for the purpose of establishing a good understanding with the Colonists and especially with the Assembly; but our endeavours to effect this object were unsuccessful. Unhappily the Colonists were led to believe that nothing would be of any avail for the relief of their difficulties, except a restoration of some portion at least of their former commercial privileges; and that this object was one that might be obtained by the assistance of a powerful party at home, and of which the accomplishment might be promoted by embarrassing and thwarting as much as possible an Administration pledged to a policy directly opposed to their views.

It would be unjust to blame the Colonists for having been induced to adopt this opinion, and the line of conduct to which it led, considering how much they were encouraged in doing so by persons of great influence in this Country, and how natural it is for those who are suffering from distress to listen to advice and suggestions such as were addressed to the West Indians by their professed friends. But though it would be unfair to censure the Assembly of Jamaica and the leading Colonists with any great severity, for the course they pursued, there can I think be no doubt that it has proved a most unfortunate one for their own interest. This is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the fact, that while Jamaica enjoys advantages which I consider to be much superior, and

which certainly are not at all events inferior, to those of any other Sugar Colony, it alone continues to exhibit no signs of any improvement in its condition; while in other important Colonies, equally dependent for their prosperity on the cultivation of sugar, there has been, as I have shown, a manifest abatement of the difficulties with which they have had to contend, and a dawning of brighter prospects for the future.

Jamaica has greatly the advantage of Trinidad and of Guiana in the amount of her population, and still more in the comparatively advanced stage of civilization which that population has reached; while of her natural fertility and resources, I am not aware that any but a very high opinion has ever been expressed; yet Guiana and Trinidad, without those extensive powers of self-government, which it is the fashion to represent as alone necessary for the welfare of a Colony, and which Jamaica possesses, have completely surmounted their financial difficulties; their revenue already exceeds their expenditure, notwithstanding large reductions of taxation, and their production of sugar is rapidly increasing. In Jamaica, on the contrary, the state of the Colonial finances is getting from bad to worse; and we are assured that, without some change, of which there is as yet no appearance, the cultivation of sugar cannot be much longer continued. There must have been serious errors in the management of the affairs of Jamaica, to account for so unfortunate a difference.

Nor is it difficult to perceive what these errors have

been. Although the need of well-considered legislation, to meet the wants of an entirely new state of society, was not less urgent in Jamaica than in the other former Slave Colonies, and though Jamaica has far greater facilities than most of these Colonies for carrying into effect such measures as are required, the Statute Book of the Island for the last six years presents nearly a blank, as regards laws calculated to improve the condition of the population, and to raise them in the scale of civilization. And unfortunately the errors to be imputed to the Legislature are not merely negative; the management of the finances, on which so much depends, has been most defective. Taxes have been reduced without any proportionate reduction of expenditure, which has been allowed habitually to exceed the income; and an increasing load of debt has thus been incurred, partly in the very objectionable form of issues of an inconvertible paper currency, under the name of "Island Cheques," partly in other ways. While this has been going on, no attempt has been made to relieve the finances and the industry of the Colony, either by the practice of a judicious and systematic economy, or by substituting less objectionable taxes for the very impolitic and onerous ones, both general and parochial, which now exist. Yet, by well directed efforts of this kind, it is certain that much might have been done for the relief of the Colony and for the encouragement of productive industry.

The mismanagement of the Colonial finances must in part at least be attributed to the mode in which

their administration is conducted. The Assembly not only retains strictly in its own hands its constitutional privilege of deciding upon the amount of grants to be made for the service of the Colony, and the taxes by which they are to be met, but it resents, as contrary to its privileges, any interference on the part of the Governor, even by way of advice, with its exercise of its authority over the public purse. It is not required in Jamaica, as it is in this Country, in Canada, and in the Australian Colonies, that every grant of money should be recommended by the Crown's Representative before it is voted; but every member of the Legislature proposes any vote which he considers to be advisable, nor is there any person responsible for preparing an estimate of the probable receipts and expenses of the Colony, and taking care that the latter shall be covered by the former. It is obvious that such a mode of conducting financial business is calculated to lead to great irregularity, and it has been found to do so in all the Colonies in which it prevails. In the absence of any effective individual responsibility, it is too commonly the practice for each member of the Assembly to push forward every grant for objects interesting to himself or his constituents, without much regard to the amount or comparative urgency of other claims on the public purse; so that the appropriation of the revenue comes to be determined rather by a kind of scramble amongst the members of the Legislature, than by a careful consideration of what the public interest requires.

Jamaica is not singular in allowing this mode of appropriating the public money to continue, notwithstanding the manifest objections to it; but it is the only Colony in which I am aware of the existence of a further departure from the principles of the Constitution on this subject, which has greatly aggravated the evils of the practice I have described. In this Country it has long been considered to be a constitutional principle of great importance, that all grants of public money made by Parliament are to be regarded as grants to the Crown; and though the House of Commons has established its right to define very strictly, in making grants, the objects to which they are to be applied, and will not consent to even the most minute alterations by the House of Lords in the Bills sent up for that purpose, it has never disputed that the collection of the revenue, the custody of the public money, and its application to the objects for which it is voted, should be entrusted to the servants of the Crown. No such rule has been observed in Jamaica.

By various local Acts, most of them of somewhat remote date, the collection and application of the revenue have been almost entirely taken out of the hands of the Governor, and certain persons known by the name of the Commissioners of Public Accounts exercise, under scarcely any control, the powers which ought properly to belong to the Governor, and to the public servants who act under his authority. So far has this been carried, that these Commissioners actually possess, and have repeatedly used, the power

of issuing, without the concurrence of the Governor, large sums in the inconvertible paper called Island Cheques, to which I have already adverted; and the Governor has also, more than once, had occasion to remark on the irregular and imperfect manner in which the revenue is collected, without having any means of interfering to enforce a more efficient performance of this very important duty. All the members of the Assembly are *ex officio* commissioners of public accounts; in reality therefore the Assembly, under another name, exercises all the anomalous powers which belong to these Commissioners, and which include a complete control over the audit of the accounts of the expenditure which they vote as legislators. As the Commissioners are authorized by law to continue to meet and act, notwithstanding a prorogation of the Assembly, and retain their power even after it is dissolved, until a new one has been elected, another check, which in this Country is imposed on the power of the House of Commons, by the authority of the Crown, to arrest its proceedings by a prorogation or dissolution, is virtually got rid of in Jamaica. The irresponsible and irregular power exercised by the Assembly, and by its members as Commissioners of Public Accounts in matters of finance, would alone have been quite enough to prevent the financial affairs of the Colony from being administered with that judgement and steadiness which the difficulties of the times urgently required; but there were other circumstances also which had still more effect in diverting the attention

of the Assembly from all useful measures, whether financial or of any other description.

The commercial calamities of the latter months of the year 1847, together with the proceedings in Parliament on the subject of West Indian distress in the beginning of 1848, produced great excitement in Jamaica, as well as in other parts of the West Indies, and inspired the leading Planters with a determination to make every effort in their power to overthrow the Home Administration, to the measures of which they were persuaded that the distress which weighed so heavily upon them was attributable. Public meetings were held at various places in the Island, at which very violent language was used, and very strong resolutions were adopted, condemning the measures of Parliament affecting the Colonies; and in the Spring and Summer of 1848 many petitions were presented to the Governor, praying that he would summon the Legislature at an earlier period than usual, "to take into consideration" (such are the words of one of these petitions) "the state of the country, and to deliberate and determine what measures ought to be adopted to avert or ward off the baneful effects of Imperial Legislation*."

Although, in the state of feeling which was thus manifested, it was not likely that the Assembly, when called together, would act with the judgement and moderation which could alone have rendered its proceedings really useful, the Governor did not think

* See House of Commons Sessional Paper of 1848, No. 685.

it expedient to decline complying with the applications made to him, and he accordingly summoned the Assembly to meet for the despatch of business on the 3rd of August. The Session proved as unproductive of good as might have been anticipated; but even before it began, the violent proceedings, to which I have referred, had an effect which might have been very serious. In the end of June and the beginning of July considerable alarm was created by rumours of an approaching rebellion of the Negroes; and, upon inquiry, it turned out that this alarm was not entirely unfounded. Though there is a strong spirit of loyalty to the Crown amongst the Negroes, who are easily managed, if judiciously and justly treated, they are at the same time ignorant, very credulous and excitable, and capable when excited of most reckless and dangerous conduct. Upon a population of this kind—entertaining also towards the White inhabitants of the island the feelings naturally engendered by the recollections of slavery, and a knowledge that the abolition of that odious system had been forced upon their masters, whose reluctant submission to the change had never been concealed—the proceedings of the Planters were calculated to have a very agitating effect; and there seems no reason to doubt that such an effect had been produced to a very considerable extent, and that some, though probably only a few, of the Negroes were contemplating measures of violence against the Whites.

Dr. Williams, the Archdeacon of Cornwall, in a

letter to the Bishop, which is enclosed in Sir Charles Grey's despatch of the 22nd of July, 1848*, after mentioning "a prevalent report that there was to be a rising of the peasantry," states that "the groundwork of the whole matter is the belief of the peasantry that the United States of America are likely to take possession of this Island, and to reduce them to slavery. This belief, it is supposed, has originated from the mention which has been made in some of the American papers of the distressed state of this Island, and the good which would result from its annexation, with Cuba, to the United States; and I fear the Planters have not themselves been prudent in what they have said on the subject of relief from Great Britain, as well as other persons, some very influential." The indications of this state of feeling created for a short time much apprehension among some of the White inhabitants; and some of the very party whose intemperate proceedings had occasioned whatever danger existed, were anxious for the adoption of measures which would no doubt have increased it, by adding to the excitement of the Black population. The Governor however firmly refused to take any steps which might have had this effect, and in his despatch of the 22nd of July he states, "I am now pretty well satisfied that there has been no other danger than that of the alarm being propagated to such an extent as might have induced precipitate and erroneous measures, such as calling out the militia and the enrolment of volunteers,

* See Parliamentary Paper quoted above.

and the distribution of arms to partisans. If this had been done, collisions must almost inevitably have taken place, and there is no saying to what extremities the mischief might have been carried." He proceeds to state, that "he had resolutely abstained from giving the sanction of the Government to any other measures" than certain precautionary ones which he described. These consisted in making arrangements to have a sufficient force promptly available, if any disturbance should occur in the districts where it was apprehended, and in the issue of a proclamation, to quiet the minds of the Negroes, by assuring them that there was no danger that any attempt would be made again to reduce them to slavery. These measures were successful, and all cause for alarm soon passed away; but it is due to Sir Charles Grey to state, that this result is mainly to be ascribed to his firmness and prudence, and that, had he listened to the suggestions of some whose apprehensions obscured their judgement, such was the state of men's minds, that Blacks and Whites might easily have been led, by unfounded fears of each other, to very deplorable acts of mutual violence.

I have said that the Session of the Legislature, which the Governor had been pressed to hold at an unusual season, was unproductive of any good. After having sat for more than a month, the Assembly adjourned from the 20th of September to the 24th of October, not a single Act of any kind having passed the Legislature; but though the addresses and resolu-

tions of the Assembly showed much irritation, nothing occurred which necessarily precluded the expectation that the ordinary business of the Colony might be proceeded with in due time. The Governor stated, that though the financial prospect was far from satisfactory, and Her Majesty's Government ought to be prepared to say in what manner the local government of the Island was to be carried on in case of the usual annual supplies for 1849 being refused, he did not despair of the difficulty being averted. He believed the Island to be as capable as ever of yielding a revenue, though in a different manner from former times; and he thought the Assembly might be prevailed upon to take the requisite measures for raising it, if there were not parties at home who urged the Members to withhold the Supplies, as a means of influencing and embarrassing the administration of Colonial affairs by Her Majesty's Government*.

On the 4th of November the Governor reported, that the Assembly having met again, the tone and character of their communications with him were better than in the August Session, which he thought had been of great use in dissipating the irritation, which had been increasing and accumulating for several months before; and that he then had good hopes of the ordinary Supplies being voted, and the ordinary business transacted before the end of the year; though he did not feel quite confident that a

* Sir C. Grey's Despatch of August 19,1848. (House of Lords Sessional Paper of 1849, No. 111, p. 14.)

different course might not be adopted under the directions of a party in England, who certainly had recommended the stoppage of the Supplies*. Unfortunately this doubt proved too well founded: the same tactics were adopted in Jamaica as in Guiana; and the Assembly, after coming to a resolution†, on the 13th of December, that they would "not pass any Bill raising a revenue beyond the 15th of February next, until a measure of retrenchment, consonant with the impoverished condition of the Island, be passed into a law," adjourned to the 23rd of January. The intention of this resolution obviously was to convey a menace, that if the Governor and Council should fail to pass a Bill of Retrenchment, of which the nature had not then been determined, the Assembly would stop the Supplies. By adjourning for so long a period after passing this resolution, the Assembly allowed, as the Governor observed, "just three weeks after their re-assembling as the period within which its plans of economical reform are to be brought forward and considered, and the momentous question is to be determined whether four-fifths of the revenue of the Island are not all at once to cease‡."

When the Assembly again met, it soon appeared that their plans of reduction were founded upon the same principle of injustice, and were no doubt adopted

* See Sir C. Grey's Despatch of November 4, 1848, p. 71 of the same Papers.

† See the above Paper, p. 143.

‡ Sir C. Grey's Despatch of January 4, 1849, p. 145.

upon the same advice, and with the same object, of embarrassing the Government at home, as the measures to which I have adverted as having been proposed in Guiana. A Retrenchment Bill, as it was called, was passed by the Assembly, and sent to the Council on the 2nd of February, the effect of which was to subject the salaries of the holders of certain offices to reductions, varying from 10 to 33⅓ per cent. By this measure, a saving in all of about £14,000 a-year would have been effected, one-half of which would have fallen upon twelve individuals. The Judges and Vice-Chancellor would have suffered a loss of one-third of their salaries, and the Chairmen of Quarter Sessions of one-fourth,—all these salaries having been granted by permanent Acts, passed within a comparatively recent period by the Colonial Legislature. The salaries of the Assistant Judges had been thus settled only six years before; and it was shown that, of the gentlemen who had accepted the office, one at least was at the time making a larger income at the Bar, which he was induced to forgo, in the confidence that his salary would be permanently secured to him*. In the same manner the Chairmen of Quarter Sessions, who had been selected with great care from the English Bar, in consequence of an Act passed only eight or nine years previously, were to have their salaries reduced from £1200 to £900 a-year.

* See the debate in the Council, on the Retrenchment Bill, enclosed in Sir C. Grey's despatch of February 19, 1849. (Papers presented by Command, May 10, 1849, p. 37.)

The injustice of these proposals is too obvious to require to be urged; and there was the less excuse for the Assembly's insisting upon them, inasmuch as, if the restoration of the finances had been their real object, measures might easily have been found, free from all objection and calculated to produce far more substantial benefit, than the contemplated Act of confiscation, directed against a comparatively small number of individuals. The Governor had pointed out, that the person who had lately held the office of Receiver-General had died, leaving a large deficiency in the Colonial Treasury, and that an early examination of his accounts was desirable *. The Governor also showed that there had been no falling off in the revenue which might not be accounted for either by a reduction of duties or by the "imperfect, lax, and neglectful collection of the taxes." The whole system of taxation, both general and parochial, was also very faulty, and much of the expenditure wasteful, and susceptible of large reduction without injury to the public service. But though there was so much room and such urgent need for measures of real financial reform, none were attempted by the Assembly, the members of which, either in that character or as Commissioners of Accounts, have practically in their hands the whole power of dealing with financial affairs. The Governor has so little substantial authority, even of an administrative kind, with regard to them, that he could take no measures for recovering from the securities of the late

* House of Lords Sessional Paper of 1849, No. 111, p. 10.

Receiver-General the amount of the deficiency left in the Treasury by that officer, which was neglected by the Assembly. Nor had he the means of correcting such a gross abuse as that of allowing the taxes to be very irregularly collected, the largest arrears, as he states, being supposed to be due from those who were best able to pay them*. The only power which the Governor possesses, with regard to the pecuniary affairs of the Colony, is that of expressing his opinion and offering advice and suggestions in his speeches and messages to the Assembly; and that body is so jealous, and is so apt to resent any interference even of this kind, as a breach of their privileges, that it is necessary to act with great caution in attempting it.

While the Assembly altogether neglected those measures of real improvement which were within their power, they pressed forward with reckless violence the unjust and ineffectual plan of retrenchment which I have described; and when the Bill for carrying it into effect was unanimously rejected by the Council, they endeavoured to accomplish their object by indirect means. In Jamaica there is not, as in this Country, a public revenue derived from taxes imposed by permanent laws, sufficient to meet the expenses charged by such laws on the Colony. With us it is well known that the greater part of the taxes are levied under the authority of Acts of Parliament which are not limited in duration; formerly the sugar

* See Sir C. Grey's Despatch of March 31, 1849. (Papers presented by Command, May 10, 1849, p. 70.)

duties, and latterly the Income-tax, have been an exception to this rule; but there are permanent taxes more than sufficient to meet those fixed expenses which are charged by law on the Consolidated Fund. In Jamaica, on the contrary, by far the larger part of the revenue is derived from taxes, the levying of which is authorized by Acts of which the duration does not in general exceed a year.

Taking advantage of this circumstance, the Assembly endeavoured to overrule the other branches of the Legislature; and, though the Council and Governor had not concurred in altering or repealing the laws regularly passed by the whole Legislature for granting certain salaries, it attempted to defeat the operation of these laws by declining to provide any funds from which the payments sanctioned by them could be made. With this view the Assembly, in passing Bills for the renewal of two of the principal sources of the Colonial income—the duties on imports and on rum—inserted clauses specially appropriating the proceeds of those taxes to particular objects, amongst which the payment of the salaries they insisted on reducing was not included. Notwithstanding the manifest objections to the course thus taken by the Assembly, the Import Duties Bill was passed by the Council and assented to by the Governor; that for imposing duties on rum was rejected.

I will not follow through its several stages the long struggle that ensued, in the course of which different Retrenchment Bills were proposed and failed, and the

Assembly was once dissolved and several times prorogued. A detailed account of these miserable proceedings would be at once wearisome and useless; it will be sufficient to give a very brief summary of their result. As the point in dispute was the same, so our policy was also the same, as that which I have already described as having been adopted with regard to Guiana. We came to the conclusion that it was our duty to maintain the honour of the Crown, by advising Her Majesty to withhold her sanction from any measure involving a violation of justice towards individuals, or a breach of the public faith; and if, in consequence, the Assembly should refuse to provide the means of carrying on the public service, to leave to that body the responsibility for the results to which this might lead. We also thought it right, not to purchase a temporary respite from the difficulties which would arise from such a refusal on the part of the Assembly, by allowing the Governor to give his assent on behalf of the Crown to any Bills which might be tendered to him, and which should be at variance with the recognized principles of the Constitution or the standing instructions to Colonial Governors. At the same time we were not only ready, but anxious, to concur in any just and reasonable measures of reform, whether financial or constitutional, which the Assembly might think fit to propose. To constitutional reforms we also declared our readiness to advise Her Majesty to accede, if proper measures of the kind should be passed: but on its being pointed out

that this would involve the relinquishment of some of the irregular powers which had been assumed by the Assembly, that body tacitly abandoned the request it had preferred to have the system of Government assimilated to that which prevails in Canada.

Instructions in accordance with these views (which were fully explained to him) were addressed to Sir Charles Grey, in various despatches, and particularly in those of the 11th of October, 1848, and the 16th of April, 1849, which will be found amongst the papers laid before Parliament. The last of the two despatches I have mentioned contains so complete a statement of the grounds upon which we acted, that I have thought it right to give it at length in the Appendix*.

The policy which was thus pursued proved, as in Guiana, ultimately successful. The Assembly was dissolved in 1849, and, though at first this measure appeared to have had little effect in changing the conduct of that branch of the Legislature, there was a considerable change in its composition; there was a change also in public opinion, as was shown by a petition numerously signed, which was presented to the Council in support of that body's proceedings; and it seemed to have become understood both by the Planters resident in Colony, and by the Jamaica proprietors in this Country, that the course taken by the Assembly had been ill-judged for their own interest. The consequence was that after different modifications of the objectionable Retrenchment Bill had been attempted,

* See Appendix (H) at the end of this Volume.

it was at length abandoned, and matters returned pretty much into their usual course.

This result is, I think, in no small degree to be attributed to the calm and temperate manner in which the Governor conducted himself in all his communications with the Assembly, to the able manner in which the objections to the measures they rejected were exposed by the Members of the Council in their debates*, and perhaps most of all to the fact that none of the West Indian party, or of the advocates of commercial monopoly in this Country, ventured, in either House of Parliament, to bring the proceedings which had taken place in Jamaica under discussion, in such a manner as to elicit an expression of the opinion of Parliament on the matters in dispute between the Government and the Assembly. When the controversy came to a crisis, all the papers on the subject, including the instructions which had just been addressed to Sir C. Grey, were laid before both Houses of Parliament on the 10th of May, 1849, with the express object of challenging a discussion, if the course we had thought it our duty to take were objected to. The challenge was not accepted,—a circumstance which could not fail to have its effect in Jamaica.

Unfortunately however, although we succeeded in resisting the objectionable measures which were pressed upon us, and also in maintaining our commercial policy,

* A report of the debate (or rather of the speeches, for the members of the Council were unanimous) on the rejection of the Retrenchment Bill, will be found in the Papers laid before Parliament.

which the proposal of those measures was intended to be an engine for overturning, the struggle into which the Assembly was led by those who called themselves their friends in this country, effectually paralysed, as I have already mentioned, every attempt to effect any of those numerous improvements in the laws, and in the financial and administrative arrangements of the Colony, which were needed, in order to raise it from that deep depression to which it has been reduced. An irreparable injury has thus been done to Jamaica, and an opportunity has been lost, which it may not, I fear, be easy to regain; nor can I look forward without very gloomy anticipations, as to what may be the result of having allowed so many more years to slip away, without taking effectual measures to improve the condition, both moral and physical, of the Negro population, and thus to prepare them for that position, and for that increasing power and influence in the Colonial society, to which they must necessarily advance.

Under the law as it stands the Negroes must soon acquire a predominant power in the Assembly. Looking then at what the Constitution of Jamaica is, and to the state of things which is likely to arise, when the Assembly, possessing as it does such large powers by law, shall represent those who possess also an overwhelming superiority of physical force, and who will not, I fear, be guided by much knowledge or judgement, or have a very kindly feeling to the absentee proprietors, I am at a loss to understand how the latter can have been so blind to their obvious interest, as not to avail them-

selves of the power and influence they still possess in the local Legislature for the purpose of co-operating with the Crown to introduce the many reforms which are wanted, and the neglect of which during these precious years may be productive of so much danger. While I held the office of Secretary of State, I had frequent occasions to deplore that the majority of those connected with Jamaica, with whom it was my duty to communicate, could not be induced to believe either in the serious character of this danger, or in the sincerity of our wish to promote the true interest of themselves and of the Colony. The delusive hope they were encouraged to entertain, of recovering some portion at least of that commercial monopoly on which their desires were so earnestly fixed, obscured their judgement, and great is the responsibility of those by whom they were thus misled.

During the last year and a half or two years of your Administration, there was a great change in the temper of the persons to whom I advert; and those connected with Jamaica, in this Country at least, showed latterly much more disposition than formerly to co-operate with us, and to look to practical measures, rather than to vain attempts to recover their lost monopoly, for an improvement in the condition of the Colony. At the end of 1850* intelligence was received in this country of the outbreak of cholera in Jamaica, and many of the principal proprietors and

* On the 20th of November: see House of Commons Sessional Paper of 1851, No. 104.

merchants connected with the Island lost no time in entering into communication with us as to the measures which should be adopted for its relief. I am happy to say that they carried on these communications in the best possible spirit and temper, and the measures which were taken were adopted with their concurrence and support. In the first instance three medical officers, recommended by the General Board of Health, were sent out to the West Indies, to assist the local Authorities by their advice in framing measures to check or avert the pestilence, and the Governor was authorized to draw upon the Treasury for £3000 to afford assistance to the most distressed of the families reduced to destitution by the death of those on whom they depended for support.

But it was felt by those with whom we had communicated, as well as by ourselves, that the most serious result of the pestilence, and that with which it was most difficult to deal, was the diminution it had caused in the already scanty supply of labour available in Jamaica, and it became matter of the most anxious consideration to us what steps could be taken to meet this evil. On mature deliberation we were of opinion that little could be done towards this end except by the Local Legislature, but that much was in its power, and that we ought to give to it all the assistance we could, in devising the measures best calculated to meet the exigency. A despatch, to be laid by the Governor before the Legislature, was accordingly prepared with as little delay and as much care

as possible, explaining very fully the various measures which it seemed to me would be most likely to effect an improvement in the condition of the Colony. In the preparation of this despatch I availed myself largely of the suggestions and information given to me by the gentlemen with whom I had been in communication, and they were put in possession of it before it was sent to the Governor. If I am not mistaken, they concurred generally, if not entirely, in the advice thus given to the Legislature, and gave it their support by letters which they addressed to their friends in the Colony. I have already adverted to this despatch in what I have said of the Sugar Colonies generally, and it will be found at length in the Appendix*.

Though the recommendations thus addressed to the Assembly were approved by a large proportion at least of the principal gentlemen in this country connected with Jamaica, I regret to say that hitherto no steps towards acting upon them have been taken in the Colony; and it appears, from resolutions adopted by the Assembly in February last, and by a pamphlet called 'A Statement of Facts relative to the Island of Jamaica,' which was published in the month of June by three delegates from the Assembly who had been sent over, that the resident Colonists are still looking, not to what they can do for themselves, but to some assistance they hope to obtain from Parliament, for relief from their difficulties.

* See Appendix (C) to this Volume.

This is greatly to be lamented, since the more carefully the circumstances of Jamaica are considered, the more reason there will be found for believing, that while Parliament can do little to improve its prospects, there are measures which it is in the power of the Local Legislature to adopt, and by which it might fairly be hoped, that its difficulties would be conquered and prosperity be ultimately restored to an Island which, in spite of its present distress, I regard as possessing in great abundance all that is necessary for becoming at no distant period a rich and flourishing Colony. But in order that this result may be attained, it is absolutely necessary that dependence for extraneous assistance, should be exchanged for strenuous exertion on the part of the Colonists and of the Colonial proprietors at home. There is no hope of improvement while those whose interests are at stake continue to manifest only apathy and neglect of what is in their own power, while they are calling for aid from others. Nothing shows more strongly the want of energy on the part of the Colonists, than the absence of any decided efforts to ward off from the Island, in future, the disease by which it has lately suffered so severely. The medical officer who was sent there, found that all the known causes of disease exist in Jamaica in great abundance, and that much might easily be done for their removal. But, though this has been shown very clearly, I do not learn that anything has yet been done toward carrying into effect the precautionary measures recommended by Dr. Milroy. It is

however only fair to add that, considering how slow the towns of this Country have generally been to avail themselves of the power given to them by Parliament to adopt measures of sanatory improvement, it is not perhaps surprising that the inhabitants of Jamaica should have been equally dilatory in attending to the subject, notwithstanding the awful warning they have had in the recent visitation of cholera.

I have entered at so much length into the transactions of some of the Sugar Colonies, that I must abstain from adverting to the others, except so far as to refer to the remarkable increase of the production of sugar in Barbadoes since 1846, which affords perhaps a more signal refutation, than even the facts I have mentioned with regard to Mauritius, of the predictions made in that and the following years as to the results which must, it was said, follow from the admission of slave-grown sugar into our markets. In spite of these predictions, I find that the crops of sugar exported from Barbadoes in the three years up to 1846, and in the three last years, have been as follows* :—

1844	23,146 hhds.	1849	33,077 hhds.
1845	24,777 „	1850	35,302 „
1846	21,996 „	1851	38,730 „
Average	23,306 „	Average	35,703 „

This is an increase of production which may well excite surprise, and which clearly demonstrates that the production of sugar by free labour can be carried

* See Blue-Book Report for 1852.

on with success, in spite of the competition with slave-labour to which it has been exposed.

Perhaps it may be said that Barbadoes enjoys advantages in the great density of its population, which the other Sugar Colonies do not possess, and that therefore what has been done in that Island, forms no criterion of what is possible in others. To a certain extent this is true; but on the other hand I must express my opinion, that the greater success of the Barbadoes Planters is not by any means exclusively due to the advantage they possess from the Colony being so populous; I cannot but believe that it is in part at least attributable to the fact, that they never resorted to those unwise means for the purpose of extorting from the Government a restoration of the former monopoly of the British sugar-grower to which the planters of Jamaica had recourse, and never either allowed the public business to be interrupted, or ceased cordially to co-operate with the able officers who have held the post of Governor in adopting such measures as have been found necessary for promoting the welfare of the community.

I must further observe, that the absence of any difficulty in carrying on the cultivation of sugar in Barbadoes, in consequence of the density of the population, affords another striking proof of the soundness of the views I have so fully stated in the earlier part of this Letter, as to the nature of the legislation which is required in the other Sugar-growing Colonies. If the free Negro is found to be so capable of exerting

himself when placed in such circumstances as he is in Barbadoes, and if experience in that Island clearly proves that, when both planters and labourers are compelled by the restricted area of the territory they occupy to concentrate their efforts within a space proportioned to their capital and numbers, they can successfully compete with slave-grown sugar, does it not follow that in the other Colonies, where the population bears a very different proportion to the extent of land, it should be the aim of legislation as far as possible to correct the tendencies thus created, and to prevent the bounty of nature from being abused, and becoming, instead of an advantage, only an encouragement to idleness and an obstacle to civilization?

August 14, 1852.

P. S. Since this Letter was written, I have, within these few days, been much gratified by finding that my opinion as to the ability of the British Colonies to compete successfully in the growth of sugar with countries in which the labour of slaves is still employed, has been confirmed by no less an authority than the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, the biographer of Lord G. Bentinck. In Mr. Disraeli's speech on the Budget, on the 3rd of this month, I find the following most remarkable passage:—"It may be said that these are merely figures" (he had just been comparing the entries for home consumption of Foreign and British sugar for the first ten months of 1851 and of 1852), "but I beg to observe that in this instance

figures constitute the case. This is a question of figures, and the result of the figures I have quoted is, that there being, in 1851, 4,126,000 cwt. of British sugar against 1,487,000 cwt. of foreign, in 1852 there were 5,378,000 cwt. of British against only 814,000 cwt. of foreign. In other words, British production has increased by 1,250,000 cwt. and foreign production has decreased by about 600,000 cwt. I may be called a traitor—I may be called a renegade —but I want to know whether there is any gentleman in this House, wherever he may sit, who would recommend a differential duty to prop up a prostrate industry which is actually commanding the metropolitan market*."

The argument is conclusive; but how much loss would have been saved to the unfortunate West Indians, how much better would the state of Colonial industry have been at this moment, even than that which the Chancellor of the Exchequer describes, if the party with which he is connected had for the four years preceding February, 1852, taken a juster view of the prospects of the Colonial Planter! Had they done so, the Colonists of Guiana and of Jamaica, instead of being encouraged to enter upon that unfortunate struggle with the Government for the recovery of protection, which I have described, would no doubt have co-operated with us in effecting the many much-needed improvements which we were anxious to assist them in accomplishing; and many an

* See the report of Mr. Disraeli's speech in 'The Times.'

unhappy Planter, who has been compelled to sell his property for one-half or one-fourth of its real value, because the confidence of English capitalists in the possibility of his continuing his business with advantage was destroyed, would have obtained assistance that would have enabled him to surmount his difficulties. Well may the West Indians say, "Save us from our friends!"

December 7, 1852.

LETTER V.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—CANADA.

My dear Lord John,

I will now turn to those large and flourishing provinces which constitute the British territory in North America. In the history of these provinces the last six years will form a memorable epoch, since within that period their system of government, which was previously in a state of great doubt and uncertainty, may be said to have been established on what there is good reason to hope may be a permanent footing, and the difficult and embarrassing questions which had arisen, as to the rules to be observed in conducting their affairs, have received a solution in which all parties have practically acquiesced. This has not been accomplished without discussions and controversies which, during their progress, were the source of much anxiety; but we may congratulate ourselves upon having succeeded, before the breaking up of your Administration, in bringing all these various discussions

and controversies to a satisfactory termination, and upon having left these, the most important of the Colonial dependencies of the British Empire, in a state, not only far better than that which we found existing on our assumption of office, but such as to afford the most encouraging prospects for their future welfare and rapid progress, both in moral and material prosperity. A very slight sketch of the various transactions and events through which this result has been attained is all that I can attempt.

Without going back to occurrences of an earlier date, I would begin by observing, that a new era in the history of British North America may be said to have opened with the passing of the Act of 1840, for the union of the former Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and with the consequent re-establishment in the latter of constitutional government, of which the unhappy insurrections of 1837 and 1838 had necessarily occasioned the temporary suspension. A simple return to the former system of constitutional government was impossible after these events. They had been the bitter fruit of defects and abuses in that system, which had been fully exposed in Lord Durham's well-known Report; and its publication had naturally created a desire for the reform of the evils it pointed out, not only in Canada, but in the Lower Provinces, to which many of Lord Durham's remarks were equally applicable.

When our lamented friend Lord Sydenham (then Mr. Poulett Thomson) went to Canada as Governor-

General, in the Autumn of 1839, there was much excitement on the question of establishing what was called "Responsible Government;" while the notions generally entertained as to what was meant by these words, and as to the manner in which such a Government was to be carried on, were exceedingly vague and ill-defined. You held at that time the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, and made the first attempt to give something like shape and consistency to these vague ideas, and to carry into effect the reform desired by the Colonists so far as this could be done with safety. In two despatches addressed to Mr. Poulett Thomson, on the 14th and 16th of October, 1839, you pointed out the necessary distinctions between the Government of this Country and that of a Colony; but at the same time you observed that, while you saw insuperable objections to the adoption of the principle of the responsibility of the Local Government to the Assemblies in the manner in which it had been stated in the Colonies, you saw none to the practical views of Colonial Government recommended by Lord Durham, as you yourself understood them; and you announced that for the future the principal offices of the Colonial Governments in North America would not be considered as being held by a tenure equivalent to one during good behaviour, but that the holders would be liable to be called upon to retire whenever, from motives of public policy or for other reasons, this should be found expedient. You explained that

this rule was to be applicable without limitation to persons appointed to the offices in question subsequently to the date of your despatch, and to the existing holders of office so far as was clearly necessary for the public good; but at the same time with due regard to the fair expectations of individuals, to whom pecuniary compensation should be awarded when it might appear unjust to dispense with their services without such an indemnity*.

These instructions were written in apparent contemplation of the adoption of some such mode as that now established of carrying on the government of the North American Colonies; but up to July, 1846, the problem of bringing into satisfactory operation this system of administration had certainly not been solved. In Canada, during the early part of Lord Sydenham's administration, the insurrection was too recent, and its effect in creating animosity and disaffection among one division of the population had been too great, to allow of the re-establishment of constitutional government in the Lower Province, where the power of legislation had been entrusted by Parliament to a Special Council. Even when the union was accomplished, the state of the country was still such as to prevent the French Canadians from acquiring their just weight in the House of Assembly elected for the first Parliament of the United Provinces; and the circumstances of the time, together with his own talents

* See, for the two despatches containing these instructions, the House of Commons Sessional Paper, No. 621 of 1848, pp. 3–6.

for business, combined to give Lord Sydenham great influence over the Legislature, and to render it necessary for him to take upon himself a larger personal share of the administration of affairs than would have fallen to him according to the strict theory of the Constitution.

In the then state of things, and of men's minds, it would have been impossible otherwise to carry on the Government; and the power which was thus in fact assumed by Lord Sydenham, was wisely used in passing various measures calculated to promote the material welfare and improvement of the country. He endeavoured also to prepare the way, by a firm and just administration, which should allow the passions and animosities excited by previous events to subside, for the safe introduction of a more constitutional system of government. In this respect the policy of Lord Sydenham was highly successful, and it contributed greatly to facilitate the adoption of the liberal and enlightened measures taken by his successor, Sir C. Bagot, during whose brief government a much nearer approach was made to the establishment of a really constitutional system; but the death of Sir C. Bagot took place so soon, that the establishment of such a system could be only imperfectly effected by him, nor is it easy to judge whether, if he had lived, he would have been able to avoid those difficulties in which his successor, Lord Metcalfe, became involved.

A difference of opinion arose between Lord Met-

calfe and his Council upon a question relating to the distribution of patronage, into which it is neither necessary nor expedient that I should enter; it is sufficient to state, that this difference led to the retirement of the members of the Executive Council, who were supported by a majority of the Assembly. Eventually, though not without considerable delay, Lord Metcalfe was enabled to form another Council, for which, by means of a dissolution of the previous Parliament, he obtained the support of a new Assembly. But this was only accomplished by Lord Metcalfe's personal popularity and influence, which were employed to procure the return of members favourable to his policy: the effect of this was to place him in direct hostility with one of the great parties into which the Colony was divided. Though the difficulty of carrying on the Government was thus obviated for the moment, as the party into whose hands he had thrown himself possessed a small majority in the Assembly, this advantage was dearly purchased by the circumstance that the Parliamentary opposition was no longer directed merely against the advisers of the Governor, but against the Governor himself and the British Government, of which he was the organ.

Hence, as it is the nature of all popular Assemblies to undergo from time to time changes, by which the minority of one year becomes the majority of another, and as there could be no doubt that sooner or later the party with which Lord Metcalfe had quarrelled would recover its ascendency, there

was a certain prospect of great future embarrassment from the state of things which had arisen. Nor was this all; the Governor, by his rupture with one party, was placed to a far greater degree than was desirable in the power of the other, by which he was supported, and lost the means of exercising his proper authority in checking any departure from moderation on the part of those by whose assistance he was compelled to carry on the Government. The danger of his position was fully understood by Lord Metcalfe, and it is apparent that he foresaw difficulties in the future administration of the Colony, which he had not succeeded in discovering any means of surmounting.

When Lord Metcalfe was at length compelled to relinquish his post, by the frightful disease in spite of which he had continued to the last to discharge his public duties with heroic patience and resolution, Lord Cathcart succeeded him, first as Administrator of the Government in virtue of the military command which he held, and afterwards as Governor-General, to which office he was appointed on the advice of Mr. Gladstone, shortly before the formation of your Administration. Lord Cathcart had, as it appeared, been appointed Governor-General in consequence of the threatening state of our relations with the United States, which rendered it desirable, at the time the appointment was made, that the chief civil and military authority in Canada should be vested in the same hands. But when we assumed the direction of affairs, the Oregon dispute had just been happily settled, and

the danger of an interruption of peace with the United States had passed away. On the other hand, as regarded the internal affairs of Canada, the position to which Lord Cathcart succeeded, on assuming the Government, was calculated, as I have explained, to create much anxiety for the future, and seemed to require that the management of these affairs should be entrusted to a person possessing an intimate knowledge of the principles and practice of the Constitution of this Country, some experience of popular assemblies, and considerable familiarity with the political questions of the day. These qualifications could not reasonably be expected from a military officer who, like Lord Cathcart, had hitherto been almost entirely occupied by the duties of his profession, and had not been accustomed to take any active part in English politics.

Accordingly it was my opinion, in which you and our colleagues agreed, that another Governor-General should be appointed, and after much consideration it was determined that Lord Elgin should be selected for this important post. He was at that time personally altogether unknown to me; but he had conducted the government of Jamaica, whence he had just returned, with great ability and success, and had also during the very short time he had sat in the House of Commons, given proof of no ordinary talents. The speech by which he had principally distinguished himself in the House of Commons was certainly not one to give him any claims upon us as a party, since it was made in seconding the amendment on the Address which led

to the downfall of Lord Melbourne's Administration, in August, 1841; but as our object was not to make selection with a view to party interests, but to entrust the management of the largest and most important of the British Colonies, in a season of great difficulty, to the ablest hands we could find, Lord Elgin was recommended to the Queen for this appointment, in preference to any of our own party or personal friends. I cannot forbear remarking, that, as the Government of Canada is literally the only civil office in that Colony in the gift of the Home Government, and is the greatest prize in the Colonial service, the manner in which it was on this occasion disposed of affords a proof of the injustice of the common allegations, that the Colonies are retained only for the sake of the patronage they afford.

As Lord Elgin, though appointed at an earlier period, did not leave this country to assume the Government of Canada until the month of January, 1847, I had the opportunity of communicating with him very fully previously to his departure, with respect to the line of conduct to be pursued by him, and the means to be adopted for the purpose of bringing into full and successful operation the system of constitutional government which it seemed to be the desire of the inhabitants of British North America to have established among them. He was thus, before he assumed the duties of his office, placed completely in possession of our views on the various questions which the introduction of this system of Government naturally raises. The

best explanation I can give of these views, and of the principles which have guided our whole policy toward the North American Colonies, will be afforded by an extract from a despatch which I had occasion to address to Sir John Harvey, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, on the 3rd of November, 1846, in answer to an application from him for instructions as to the course he should adopt in circumstances of considerable difficulty in that Province.

It had appeared, from Sir John Harvey's report on the state of affairs in Nova Scotia on his assumption of the Government, that the Executive Council was incomplete, that there was reason to doubt its being able to continue to conduct the affairs of the Province with advantage, and that he had been urged by the Members of the Opposition, with whom he had been in communication, to dissolve the existing Assembly, in the belief that by so doing a new Assembly would be elected, in which they would have a majority showing public opinion to be in their favour. With reference to this state of things, I transmitted to Sir John Harvey the following instructions, which, it will be observed, involve principles of general application to all Colonies having a similar form of government*. "I am of opinion that under all the circumstances of the case, the best course for you to adopt is to call upon the Members of your present Executive Council to propose to you the names of the gentlemen whom they would recommend to supply

* See House of Commons Sessional Paper, No. 621 of 1848, p. 8.

the vacancies which I understand to exist in the present Board. If they should be successful in submitting to you an arrangement to which no valid objection arises, you will of course continue to carry on the Government through them, so long as it may be possible to do so satisfactorily, and as they possess the necessary support from the Legislature. Should the present Council fail in proposing to you an arrangement which it would be proper for you to accept, it would then be your natural course, in conformity with the practice in analogous cases in this Country, to apply to the opposite party; and should you be able, through their assistance, to form a satisfactory Council, there will be no impropriety in dissolving the Assembly upon their advice; such a measure, under those circumstances, being the only mode of escaping from the difficulty which would otherwise exist, of carrying on the government of the Province upon the principles of the Constitution. The object with which I recommend to you this course, is that of making it apparent that any transfer which may take place of political power from the hands of one party in the Province to those of another, is the result, not of an act of yours, but of the wishes of the people themselves, as shown by the difficulty experienced by the retiring party in carrying on the government of the Province according to the forms of the Constitution. To this I attach great importance; I have therefore to instruct you to abstain from changing your Executive Council until

it shall become perfectly clear that they are unable, with such fair support from yourself as they have a right to expect, to carry on the government of the Province satisfactorily, and command the confidence of the Legislature.

"Of whatever party your Council may be composed, it will be your duty to act strictly upon the principle you have yourself laid down, in the memorandum delivered to the gentlemen with whom you have communicated,—that, namely, 'of not identifying yourself with any one party,' but, instead of this, 'making yourself both a mediator and a moderator between the influential of all parties.' In giving therefore all fair and proper support to your Council for the time being, you will carefully avoid any acts which can possibly be supposed to imply the slightest personal objection to their opponents, and also refuse to assent to any measures which may be proposed to you by your Council which may appear to you to involve an improper exercise of the authority of the Crown for party rather than for public objects. In exercising however this power of refusing to sanction measures which may be submitted to you by your Council, you must recollect that this power of opposing a check upon extreme measures proposed by the party for the time in the Government, depends entirely for its efficacy upon its being used sparingly and with the greatest possible discretion. A refusal to accept advice tendered to you by your Council is a legitimate ground for its Members to tender to you their resig-

nation,—a course they would doubtless adopt, should they feel that the subject on which a difference had arisen between you and themselves was one upon which public opinion would be in their favour. Should it prove to be so, concession to their views must sooner or later become inevitable, since it cannot be too distinctly acknowledged that it is neither possible nor desirable to carry on the government of any of the British Provinces in North America in opposition to the opinion of the inhabitants.

"Clearly understanding, therefore, that refusing to accede to the advice of your Council for the time being, upon a point on which they consider it their duty to insist, must lead to the question at issue being brought ultimately under the decision of public opinion, you will carefully avoid allowing any matter not of very grave concern, or upon which you cannot reasonably calculate upon being in the end supported by that opinion, to be made the subject of such a difference. And if, unfortunately, such a difference should arise, you will take equal care that its cause and the grounds of your own decision are made clearly to appear in written documents capable of being publicly quoted.

"The adoption of this principle of action by no means involves the necessity of a blind obedience to the wishes and opinions of the Members of your Council; on the contrary, I have no doubt that, if they see clearly that your conduct is guided, not by personal favour to any particular men or party, but

by a sincere desire to promote the public good, your objections to any measures proposed will have great weight with the Council, or, should they prove unreasonable, with the Assembly, or, in last resort, with the Public.

"Such are the general principles upon which the Constitution granted to the North American Colonies render it necessary that their Government should be conducted. It is however, I am well aware, far easier to lay down these general principles than to determine in any particular case what is that line of conduct which an adherence to them should prescribe. In this, your own judgement and a careful consideration of the circumstances in which you are placed must be your guide; and I have only, in conclusion, to assure you that Her Majesty will always be anxious to put the most favourable construction upon your conduct, in the discharge of the arduous duties imposed upon you by the high situation you hold in Her service."

The despatch, from which the above is an extract, was communicated to Lord Elgin previously to his proceeding to Canada; and, in conformity with the principles there laid down, it was his object, in assuming the Government of the Province, to withdraw from the position of depending for support on one party into which Lord Metcalfe had, by unfortunate circumstances, been brought. He was to act generally upon the advice of his Executive Council, and to receive as Members of that body those persons who might be pointed out to him as entitled to be

so by their possessing the confidence of the Assembly. But he was carefully to avoid identifying himself with the party from the ranks of which the actual Council was drawn, and to make it generally understood that, if public opinion required it, he was equally ready to accept their opponents as his advisers, uninfluenced by any personal preferences or objections.

In adopting this rule of conduct, it was of peculiar importance to make it manifest that all past contentions and the unhappy events of 1837 and 1838 were buried in complete oblivion; and that all the inhabitants of Canada, who would for the future act as loyal subjects of the British Crown, would be regarded with equal favour by the Governor, without reference to their national origin or to the party to which they might belong. Upon this policy Lord Elgin has steadily acted, and, after passing through a crisis of great difficulty, it has been crowned with complete success. On his assumption of the Government he found the Provincial Administration in the hands of the party which had supported Lord Metcalfe; and for the first Session, as the Members of this Administration were enabled, though with much difficulty, to maintain their majority in the Assembly, they remained in office, receiving from Lord Elgin all the constitutional support they could ask for, and every facility for the attempts they thought it right to make to strengthen their position by a junction with some of the leaders of other parties. These attempts were

not successful, and at the close of the year 1847 the then Canadian Administration, finding that they could neither form a new and stronger combination of parties, nor reckon any longer upon even the bare majority they had previously had in the Assembly, applied to Lord Elgin for power to dissolve the Parliament: no objection having been made on his part, the dissolution took place, and was followed by a general election, which gave a complete triumph to the party previously in opposition.

When this result was ascertained, Lord Elgin gave to the Members of his Council the option of immediately retiring, or of calling the Parliament together at once. They chose the latter course. The Parliament met, a vote was carried against the Administration, which retired, and a new one was formed from the ranks of their opponents, the Members of both parties concurring in expressing their sense of the perfect fairness and impartiality with which Lord Elgin had conducted himself throughout these transactions. With his new Council he acted in the same spirit as with their predecessors: without in the slightest degree committing himself as their partisan, he freely gave them his confidence, and the assistance of his judgement and experience in preparing measures for the benefit of the Province; and without attempting by direct authority to prescribe to them the course which they should follow, he practically exercised a great and most useful influence on the conduct of affairs.

The consequence of this was, that the French

Canadians, and the Liberal party in the Western Division of the Province, seeing that their leaders and friends were admitted to their just share of power and influence, that no distrust of them was evinced by the Governor, and that the government really was to be carried on strictly in the spirit of the Constitution, without any preference being shown to men of any one party or national origin, became on their side reconciled to the Imperial authority which was thus exercised, and proved themselves worthy of the confidence which had been placed in them, by the loyalty and attachment they manifested to the Crown. So soon and so decidedly were the healing effects of this policy experienced, that, when the news of the French Revolution of February, 1848, reached the Province, it occasioned no disturbance or alarm. In the state of public feeling and opinion which Lord Elgin found prevailing on his arrival in Canada, little more than a year before, there can be no doubt that the intelligence of this startling event would have produced most formidable excitement, if not actual disturbance. Instead of this, there was the most perfect tranquillity and security*. All efforts

* The state of the Province about this time is thus described in the presentment of the Grand Jury of Montreal, enclosed in Lord Elgin's despatch of May 3, 1848:—"Le Grand Jury ne peut s'empêcher de manifester le bonheur qu'il éprouve de voir le pays jouissant d'une paix et d'une tranquillité profonde, tandis que les peuples de la vieille Europe se trouvent engagés dans les troubles et le feu des révolutions. Cette paix dont jouit notre pays, qu'il sait apprécier et qu'il saura maintenir, est due à la forme de notre Gou-

to create opposition to the Government amongst the French Canadians utterly failed; they heartily and steadily supported the Government, and took every opportunity to manifest, by addresses and resolutions, the strongest spirit of loyalty to the British Crown. The Liberal party in Upper Canada manifested a similar spirit, and during the Irish movement in the Summer of 1848, the attempts of the American-Irish sympathizers to obtain support in Canada met with nothing but discouragement.

If a different spirit had prevailed, and if the European events of 1848, falling like a spark on a population disaffected to the Government, had provoked any corresponding movement in Canada, it is probable that disturbances there, even if slight in the first instance, would have been followed by very disastrous consequences; since it can hardly be doubted, from what has happened in other cases, that the Government of the United States, however sincerely it might have had the wish, would have wanted the power, to restrain the lawless adventurers whom any outbreak in Canada would have attracted from all quarters of the Union to take

vernement, et surtout à la sagesse, à l'habileté, et à la fermeté des hommes appelés par le Représentant de notre Souverain à le faire fonctionner. Avec de tels hommes à la tête des affaires, soucieux comme ils le sont des intérêts de tous, sans distinction, le pays ne peut que prospérer, et jouir de cette paix si nécessaire au déploiement de son industrie et de son commerce. Le Grand Jury est donc persuadé que cette paix, si nécessaire au bonheur du pays, ne sera jamais troublée; le Gouvernement pouvant compter sur la sympathie et l'appui cordial et sincère de tous ses habitants.—Chambre du Grand Jury, Montreal, Avril 29, 1848."

part in it. In the insurrection of 1837 and 1838 the only serious danger arose from the "sympathizers" (as they were called) from the United States; and since that time the Mexican war had added largely both to the number and to the dangerous character of the class of men in these States whom the love of excitement and the hope of plunder are sure to gather together in any part of North America where there may be a prospect of that irregular warfare in which they delight. An insurrection in Canada would therefore most likely have involved us also in a war with the United States; and it is my conviction that the Country could hardly have escaped from these calamities, but for the policy upon which, under our direction and with our support, Lord Elgin so ably acted in the government of Canada.

But although this policy was thus successful in reconciling the alienated French Canadians to the Imperial Government, and in gaining the affections of the great body of the people, it was not to be expected that it should not lead to some dissatisfaction on the part of those who had been accustomed to consider themselves as entitled to the exclusive possession of the favour of the Government. However necessary it was for the peace and welfare of the Colony that former events should be buried in oblivion, and that all who would for the future conduct themselves as faithful subjects of the Queen, should be regarded as possessing equal claims on the favour of the Crown, it was impossible that this rule could be acted upon without

creating irritation and discontent in those who saw in it an improper forgetfulness of their own services to the Crown during the insurrection, and in supporting Lord Metcalfe as the Queen's Representative.

By the change of Administration which had taken place, the party long accustomed to ascendency, and to consider themselves as the party of the English Government, had seen the power and influence, which they had grown to regard as rightfully belonging to themselves, and which, by the support of the Home Government, they had been enabled, with a brief interval, to exercise for a long period, transferred to a party composed principally of persons whom, on account of their democratic opinions or of their national origin, they had been in the habit of regarding and representing as disloyal and as the natural enemies of the British Crown.

It was natural that such a transfer of political power should create feelings of great displeasure and indignation in the minds of those from whom it was taken, and there was another circumstance which contributed to exasperate these feelings. The party which was thus deprived of power happened to include in its ranks a large proportion of those who were most deeply interested in the trade of the Province, and 1848 and 1849 were years of great mercantile distress in Canada, which was attributed, not altogether unjustly, to the recent change in the commercial policy of this Country. Thus the same persons who felt most the transfer of political power from one

party to the other, were those on whom the heavy pecuniary losses of a period of extreme commercial difficulty fell also with the greatest severity; hence it is not surprising that, as in the Mother-country political parties were at that time divided principally on the question of free trade or protection, the irritation of the party in the Colony which had been deprived of political power should have been greatly increased by the fact, that the commercial policy to which they attributed their losses was maintained by the Administration at home, under which they had been refused that active support against their political rivals which had been given to them by Lord Metcalfe.

This was the more strongly felt, because Canada had a real grievance to complain of: it had suffered severely from the want of steadiness and consistency in our commercial policy. By the Canada Corn Act of 1843, in consideration of a duty of 3*s.* a quarter having been imposed by the Provincial Legislature on the importation of foreign wheat, not only the wheat of Canada, but also its flour, which might be manufactured from American wheat, were admitted for consumption into this Country at a nominal duty. The effect of this enactment was obviously to give a large premium for the grinding of American wheat in Canada for the British market. The consequence was, that much of the available capital of the Province was laid out in making arrangements for carrying on the lucrative trade which was supposed to be thus opened to its

merchants and millers. But almost before these arrangements were fully completed, and the newly-built mills fairly at work, the Act of 1846 swept away the advantage conferred upon Canada in respect to the corn-trade with this Country, and thus brought upon the Province a frightful amount of loss to individuals, and a great derangement of the Colonial finances.

These evils were naturally attributed by the sufferers to the legislation of 1846, though in my opinion they might more justly have been so to the short-sighted and unwise Act of 1843, of which many members of the House of Commons (of whom I myself was one) predicted the consequences at the time it was passed, and therefore opposed it, on the ground that even then it was obvious that a general repeal of the existing Corn-law could not long be withheld, so that the adoption of the partial measure recommended by the then Government must eventually bring great losses upon Canada, by creating expectations which would certainly be disappointed. But whether the mistake was in passing the Act of 1843 or that of 1846, it is clear that one or the other must have been grievously wrong; and there can be no doubt that the Province had been greatly injured by that inconstancy of purpose which had induced the Imperial Legislature, within the short period of three years, to pass two Acts entirely opposed to each other in principle. It was only natural that the sufferers by this rapid change of policy should condemn, not the original and imprudent grant of the privilege which had been

conceded to the Colony, but its abrupt and unexpected withdrawal.

From all these causes the party opposed to the Canadian Administration were disposed, when the Provincial Parliament met in the year 1849, to carry their opposition beyond the usual bounds of political hostility, and to direct it not only against the Governor's advisers, but against the Governor himself, and the Administration then existing in this country. With such a disposition, it was not likely that grounds for attack would be wanting; and they were soon found, in a Bill which was submitted by the Government to the Assembly, for making compensation to persons in Lower Canada who had suffered losses in the rebellion. I am anxious to avoid, as far as possible, the risk of reviving the excitement on this subject, which at the time rose to a great height and led to very deplorable consequences; I will therefore give as brief an account as I can of transactions, some explanation of which is indispensable in a review of Colonial affairs during the last six years.

The Rebellion Losses Bill, as it was called, was brought forward in the Provincial Parliament in the Session of 1849, by Lord Elgin's then advisers, for the purpose of completing what had already been done by their predecessors towards giving effect to the wish expressed by the Assembly in an Address to Lord Metcalfe, which had been voted so long since as the year 1845. The prayer of the Assembly in that Address was, "that His Excellency would be

pleased to cause proper measures to be adopted, in order to ensure to the inhabitants of that portion of this Province, formerly Lower Canada, indemnity for just losses by them sustained during the rebellion of 1837 and 1838." It is to be observed that compensation for losses of this description had already been given in Upper Canada, and that, before this Address was voted, under Ordinances passed in 1838 and 1839 by the Special Council (to which at that time the power of legislation in Lower Canada was entrusted), the losses sustained by the loyal inhabitants of the latter Province while supporting the Government had been ascertained and reported upon*. It was clearly therefore the intention of the Government, which had concurred in the above Address, and of the Assembly, by which it had been voted unanimously, to extend the indemnity beyond the limit assigned to it by the Ordinances of the Special Council, and to give it not only to those who, when supporting the Government, had suffered losses from the rebels, but also to those whose property had been destroyed or injured by the troops or volunteers, where such destruction of property could be shown to have been wanton and unnecessary, which was held to be the meaning of the somewhat awkward expression "just losses," which occurs in the Address of the Assembly already quoted.

* See Lord Elgin's Despatch of the 5th of May, 1849, in the "Further Papers relative to the Affairs of Canada," presented to both Houses of Parliament, on the 25th of May, 1849.

In consequence of this Address, Commissioners were appointed by Lord Metcalfe, to inquire into the claims of persons in Lower Canada whose property had been destroyed during the rebellion; and the Commissioners, in reporting upon these claims, were directed to distinguish the cases of those who had joined in the rebellion, or had been aiding or abetting therein. Upon inquiring in what manner this classification was to be made, they were answered by Mr. Secretary Daly, under the authority of the Governor in Council, in the following terms:—"In making out the classification called for by your instructions of the 12th of December last, it is not His Excellency's intention that you should be guided by any other description of evidence than that furnished by the sentences of the courts of law."

In entire accordance with the proceedings adopted during the earlier stages of these transactions, the Bill passed through the Provincial Parliament under the auspices of Lord Elgin's advisers, excluded absolutely from participation in the indemnity fund only those persons whose guilt in the rebellion had been established by legal conviction or by their own confession; leaving it to the Commissioners, who were to be appointed to carry out the Act, to determine, in cases which came before them, how far the destruction of property complained of had been wanton or unnecessary. This was a duty obviously of the greatest delicacy, for the faithful and loyal discharge of which the best security was afforded by the re-appointment as Commissioners of the same gentlemen who had

been named to that office by Lord Metcalfe. The Rebellion Losses Bill therefore had its origin in an Address of the Assembly, which was passed with the concurrence of Lord Metcalfe's Conservative Administration; its provisions were adopted from the Report of Commissioners appointed by that Administration in pursuance of the Address; and after it became law, its execution was confided by Lord Elgin's advisers to the same individuals.

But all these circumstances were not sufficient to prevent a violent outcry from being raised against the measure, as one of which the object was to reward and encourage rebels. In the House of Assembly, notwithstanding a very determined resistance, the Bill passed by large majorities, by no means composed exclusively of French Canadians; since Lord Elgin has shown, that in the final division of forty-seven to eighteen on the passing of the Bill, seventeen Members from Upper Canada voted in its favour, and fourteen against it; and of ten Members for Lower Canada of British descent, six supported, and only four opposed it*. In the Legislative Council the measure encountered much opposition, but it was the opposition out of doors which was of the most importance. In different parts of the Province petitions were got up against the Bill, the great majority of which, though it was still in progress when they were prepared, were addressed, not to either branch of the Legislature, but to the Governor, and generally

* See the Despatch quoted above.

concluded with a prayer that he would either dissolve the Parliament, or reserve the Bill, when it reached him, for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure.

Lord Elgin, feeling on the one hand that an appeal to the people would be futile, and on the other that he would not be morally justified in throwing on Her Majesty's Government at home the responsibility of accepting or rejecting the Bill, most properly determined to adopt neither of these courses; and when the Bill was presented to him, he gave the Royal Assent to it in the usual form. Unhappily his doing so was made the occasion of serious riots, in which he was himself attacked and insulted, and the public buildings in which the Provincial Parliament held its sittings were burnt, with the valuable libraries they contained. For a considerable time after these deplorable occurrences, the most violent attacks were directed by the newspapers of the Opposition personally against Lord Elgin; and so strongly were the feelings of a part of the population of Montreal excited against him, that he could not go into the town without the risk of insult and of a disturbance of the public peace, but was compelled almost to confine himself to Monklands, the country residence of the Governor.

By taking this line of conduct Lord Elgin incurred much obloquy at the time; but he acted on the conviction that, although it would have been easy, with the military force which he could command, to

put down any riotous proceedings which might have taken place, and he might with perfect security to himself have braved the popular feeling by going into Montreal; still, for the permanent welfare of the Colony it was of the utmost importance to avoid, if possible, any occasion for the employment of force against the mob; since, if blood had been shed in the necessary suppression of acts of violence, this could not have failed to exasperate the animosities already excited, and still further to inflame one class of the population against another. He was also in no small degree influenced by the reflection, that among those who were carried away by the excitement of the moment, some at least were worthy men, actuated by feelings of wounded pride, which were entitled to all possible consideration; he preferred therefore to submit in silence to all the imputations that were directed against him, and waited patiently until the excitement which had been created should subside. At the same time however he expressed his opinion, in reporting these transactions to the Government at home, that the clamour and disturbances raised out of doors ought not to be allowed to prevail against the deliberate decision of the Provincial Legislature, and that submission to such dictation would render the government of the Province by constitutional means impossible*.

In this opinion we concurred, and we agreed with-

* See Lord Elgin's Despatch of the 30th of April, 1849, in the Papers presented to both Houses of Parliament in May, 1849.

out hesitation to advise Her Majesty to signify to Lord Elgin Her undiminished confidence in his ability and judgement, and Her entire approbation of his conduct, which was done by my Despatch* of the 18th of May. Lord Elgin had remarked that, if he should be "unable to recover that position of dignified neutrality between contending parties which it had been his unremitting study to maintain," it might be for the interests of Her Majesty's service that he should be removed from his high office, to make way for a Governor less personally obnoxious to any section of Her Majesty's subjects within the Province. In the despatch I have referred to, he was informed, in reply to his suggestion, that his relinquishment of his post would be regarded as a most serious loss to Her Majesty's service, and that no doubt was entertained that he would succeed in recovering his position of "dignified neutrality."

To this end his efforts were directed; but their success was greatly hindered for some time by the manner in which the intelligence of the events which had taken place in Canada was received in this Country. These events were made the subject of discussion in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Commons, after some incidental notice of the subject on previous occasions, it was more formally brought under consideration by Mr. Gladstone, on the 14th of June, when, on the motion for bringing up the Report of the

* See further Papers presented to Parliament on the 25th of May, 1849.

Committee of Supply, he made a long speech of severe censure on the Colonial Government, which however was not followed up by submitting any distinct proposal to the House. But although he proposed nothing, after your reply to his speech, Mr. Herries, taking nearly the same line of argument as Mr. Gladstone, but following it out to its natural conclusion, moved an Address to the Crown, praying that Her Majesty's assent to the Canadian Act might be withheld, until satisfactory assurances had been obtained, that no persons implicated in the rebellion would be allowed under its provisions to receive compensation for their losses. After two nights' debate, in the course of which Sir Robert Peel spoke strongly in defence of Lord Elgin's conduct, and against the motion of Mr. Herries, it was rejected by a large majority.

A few days later, resolutions condemning the proceedings of the Canadian Government were moved in the House of Lords by Lord Brougham; and, being supported by the whole strength of the Opposition, were only rejected, by the aid of proxies, by a majority of three,—of the Peers present, a majority having voted for them.

When the intelligence of these discussions, and especially of the close division in the House of Lords, reached the Colony, it had naturally the effect of keeping up the excitement which had previously been created. In the month of August the arrest of some of the persons accused of having been engaged in the

riots in April, led to a fresh and serious riot in Montreal, when a violent attack was made by the mob on the house of Mr. Lafontaine, in resisting which one man was shot, who afterwards died of his wounds; this, owing to the extreme forbearance of Lord Elgin and his advisers, was the only life lost throughout these unhappy disturbances.

But the violence of the passions which had been excited was displayed, not merely by the riotous conduct of an ignorant mob, but by proceedings of a more really dangerous and objectionable character on the part of persons of superior education and station in life. In the course of the Autumn of 1849 there was got up in the Province a movement, somewhat formidable in the first instance, in favour of what was called the annexation of Canada to the United States. An address to the people of Canada, bearing a large number of signatures, and advocating this measure (the necessity of which was rested in part on the withdrawal of the commercial privileges formerly granted to the Colony by the Mother-country), was printed and extensively circulated through the Province. Though it was the object of the Government, both in Canada and in this Country, to act with the utmost forbearance, in the conviction that the excitement would subside, and that those whose passions had for the moment betrayed them into very objectionable proceedings, were not really insensible to their duty as British subjects; it was still considered necessary clearly to

show that this forbearance did not proceed from any disposition to yield to the intemperate opposition which had been offered to the constituted Authorities.

One of the most important measures adopted with this view was the removal of the seat of Government from Montreal. Soon after the riots in April, an address to the Governor had been carried in the Assembly, praying that in consequence of these outrages, and of the destruction of the building in which the sittings of the Legislature had formerly been held, he would in future summon the Provincial Parliament to meet alternately at Toronto and Quebec.

When the intelligence reached this Country of the renewal of disturbances in Montreal in August, a despatch was addressed to Lord Elgin, pointing out that the existence of such a spirit of insubordination in that city rendered it a very unfit place for the seat of the Provincial Government and for the meeting of the Legislature *; and, on the 18th of November, the Governor reported, in reply, that after full and anxious deliberation he had resolved, on the advice of his Council, to act on the recommendation of the Assembly that the Legislature should sit alternately at Toronto and Quebec, and with that view to summon the Provincial Parliament for the next session at Toronto †. The removal of the seat of Government from Montreal,

* See Papers relating to the removal of the seat of Government and to the annexation movement in Canada, presented to both Houses of Parliament, April 15, 1850.

† See the above Papers, p. 6.

which was decided upon in this deliberate and unimpassioned manner, was calculated to give a useful lesson to the inhabitants, not only of that city but of the whole Province, as to the natural consequences of acts of violence and insubordination to those who were guilty of them.

About the same time that this measure was decided upon, the Governor caused a circular letter to be addressed to all the persons holding commissions at the pleasure of the Crown, whose names had appeared amongst the signatures to the address to the people of Canada recommending the annexation of the Province to the United States, with the view of ascertaining whether their names had been attached to that document with their own consent. Some of these letters were answered in the negative, some in the affirmative, and others by denying the right of the Government to put the question, and declining to reply to it. Lord Elgin* resolved, with the advice of the Executive Council, to remove from such offices as are held during the pleasure of the Crown, the gentlemen who admitted the genuineness of their signatures, and those who refused to disavow them.

In this course we thought it right to support him, and a despatch was addressed to him, signifying the Queen's approval of his having dismissed from Her service those who had signed the address, and Her Majesty's commands to resist to the utmost any attempt that might be made to bring about a separa-

* See the above Papers, p. 10.

tion of Canada from the British dominions, to mark in the strongest manner Her Majesty's displeasure with all those who might directly or indirectly encourage such a design, and to adopt legal proceedings against those whose conduct might, in the opinion of the law officers, afford grounds for doing so*. This policy was attended with complete success. From the first the Governor had received the decided and energetic support of the great majority of the inhabitants of the Province; addresses to the Queen and to the Governor were transmitted in great numbers from all parts of the Province, condemning the riotous proceedings at Montreal, and expressing a strong determination to maintain the connection between the Colony and the Mother-country; and by degrees both the excitement which had been created and the annexation movement died away, the authors of that movement having apparently, on cooler reflection, become ashamed of it.

Before we retired from office, the state of public feeling throughout the Province had become in the highest degree satisfactory. There are of course those party divisions which must be expected to exist in all free governments; but there has been a remarkable abatement of the former bitterness of party spirit, and still more so of the animosities arising from difference of national origin, while there is every indication that all parties are becoming daily more sensible of the advantages they derive from the form

* See the above Papers, p. 23.

of their Government and from their connection with the British Empire. The arrangement by which the seat of Government and the sittings of the Legislature were fixed alternately at Toronto and Quebec has contributed not a little towards removing the feelings of alienation from each other of the inhabitants of French and of British descent. The French Canadians have thus been brought into closer communication than formerly with the inhabitants of the western division of the Province, and an increase of mutual esteem and respect, with the removal of many prejudices by which they were formerly divided, have been the result of the two classes becoming better acquainted with each other.

The improved state of feeling generally is however, no doubt, in a great measure to be attributed to the recovery of the commercial and industrial interests of the Province from the depression under which they laboured for a time. I shall almost immediately have to call your attention to the evidence which exists of the present prosperity of Canada; but before doing so, it is fit that I should mention some of the other matters relating to this Colony, which during the last five years have occupied the attention of its Government and Legislature.

Within that period questions of much importance have required and received consideration; and notwithstanding the degree to which, during a part of the time, public attention was occupied and distracted by party dissensions, useful legislation and measures of improve-

ment have by no means been neglected. The Provincial Parliament at an early period availed itself of the power granted to it by the Act of 1846, to repeal the differential duties formerly imposed on imports from foreign countries by Imperial Legislation; and Canada has now a tariff of duties levied for revenue only, and in such a manner as to interfere as little as possible with the natural direction of capital and industry. It has also passed laws extending and improving the system of Municipal organization, which is now very complete in the western division of the Province, and is beginning to be brought into operation in the eastern division also. The District Councils have been assisted in adopting effective measures for improving their means of communication, both by ordinary roads and by railroads: of the former many have already been made, and steps have been taken which there is every reason to believe will ensure the speedy construction of various important lines of railway. In the western division of the Province an admirable system of general Education has been brought, by recent improvements, into complete and effective operation; and measures are in progress for extending and improving in like manner the means of education in Eastern Canada.

In the years 1847 and 1848, at the instance of the Local Government, we recommended to the Imperial Parliament the repeal of certain parts of the Act of Union, which were considered by the inhabitants of Canada to involve an improper restriction of

the powers of the Provincial Legislature to deal with their own local affairs. Accordingly, by the Act of the 10th and 11th of Victoria, chap. 71, the provisions in the Act of Union relating to the Civil List of Canada were repealed, and Her Majesty was enabled to give her assent to a Provincial Act to supply their place; so that the whole expenditure of the Colony now takes place under the authority, not of Imperial, but of Provincial Legislation. In the following year (by the Act of the 11th and 12th of Victoria, chap. 56) other clauses of the Act of Union, which require that the English language only should be used in instruments relating to the Legislative Council and Assembly, were also repealed. These measures were not of very great practical importance in themselves, but considerable consequence was attached to them by the inhabitants of Canada, as a proof of the confidence of the Imperial Government and Parliament, and as removing the last traces of that distrust which the insurrection had necessarily left behind it, and which was evinced in the clauses of the Union Act now repealed.

Laws have also been passed for the protection, both of the Province and of the immigrants themselves, from the evils which arose from the manner in which Emigration was formerly carried on. This subject is one of the highest importance, both to the Colony and to the Mother-country, and has occupied a very large share of public attention. In the year 1847, the arrival in the Colonies of large numbers of Irish

immigrants had been attended with great calamities. These unhappy people, flying from famine, flocked to every port that was open to them in North America. The passage to the British possessions being at that time considerably cheaper than that to the United States, the poorest and most destitute of the starving multitude made the former their destination. Neither the Imperial Passengers Act, then in force, nor the Colonial laws, were calculated to meet such an emergency. The regulations imposed by the former, as to the number of persons to be embarked in a given space, as to the accommodation to be afforded, and the precautions to be taken on board emigrant-ships, though they had sufficed under ordinary circumstances, proved altogether inadequate when such vast numbers of emigrants were striving to escape from starvation, many of them carrying with them the seeds of disease from the sufferings they had already undergone. The consequence was that a frightful fever broke out in the emigrant-ships, and at the quarantine stations where the emigrants were landed in the Colonies, and especially in the St. Lawrence; and the mortality, which in former years had been only at the rate of about five in every thousand emigrants, was increased elevenfold, and there were no less than fifty-five deaths in the same number of passengers.

The Colonial Government and the members of the medical and clerical professions made the most strenuous and laudable efforts for the relief of the

crowds of miserable beings thrown upon their care by the arrival of the emigrant-ships. Every arrangement, which the limited means that were available rendered practicable, was made for the reception of the emigrants, and for supplying their wants and relieving their sufferings. The Colonial Government incurred a heavy expenditure in the measures adopted for this purpose, while several of the medical men and clergy of different persuasions fell victims to their humane exertions, and died of the fever which they caught in attending to the emigrants, whose sufferings, in spite of all that could be done for them, were of the most heart-rending description.

It was obviously necessary to take precautions against the recurrence of such calamities; accordingly, a temporary Act for the regulation of emigrant-ships to North America was passed by Parliament early in the Session of 1848, to afford time for the full consideration of a permanent law, which has since been passed. An application was also made to Parliament, to relieve the North American Colonies from the heavy expense incurred by them in the relief of emigrants, and a sum of no less than £140,000 was voted for that purpose. In Canada (and a similar course was adopted in the other North American Colonies) a local Act was passed, founded on suggestions contained in a despatch which I addressed to Lord Elgin. The principal objects of this Act were to provide for the expenditure to be incurred by the Colony on account of emigration, by an increase of the emigration-tax already levied; and at

the same time to make it the interest of owners and masters of ships to take all the precautions in their power against disease, by augmenting the tax in cases where there should be such sickness on board ships as to render it necessary to prolong their detention in quarantine. There were also other stringent regulations, to meet the most serious of the evils which had arisen. These measures were attended with complete success. There has been no recurrence of the calamities of 1847; and the severity of the restrictions judiciously imposed by the Legislature in the first instance has been relaxed, as experience has shown that this might safely be done, while at the same time effective arrangements have been made for the protection of ignorant emigrants from the heartless and cruel frauds to which, in New York, they are too often exposed.

I cannot leave this subject of Emigration without reminding you that, in the midst of the alarm and distress of the Irish famine of 1847, we were most urgently pressed to take measures for increasing the tide of emigration, by applying to Parliament for a grant of money to promote it; and that it was with considerable difficulty that we were able to resist the very general wish that was expressed, that something of this kind should be attempted. We were however so strongly convinced, that it would be utterly impossible for the Government to interfere directly in transferring the distressed population of Ireland to the other side of the Atlantic, without doing far

more harm than good, and without giving rise to great abuses, that we steadily refused to engage in such an undertaking. We were persuaded that the effect of any interference by the Government in the manner desired, would have been to paralyse the exertions of individuals, by which alone so vast a movement of the population, as was required and was in progress, could be safely accomplished.

Had the Government undertaken the removal of the distressed inhabitants of Ireland, it would have brought upon itself a responsibility of the most formidable kind, both as to the selection of those who should be allowed to emigrate at the public expense, and the arrangements to be made for providing for them on their arrival. If the most destitute and helpless had been taken as would have been requisite for the relief of Ireland, the evil inflicted on the places to which they were sent would have been so great, that the United States would doubtless immediately have availed themselves of their right as an independent Nation to take measures for their own protection, and would have passed laws effectually to prevent a destitute multitude from being cast on their shores. The Colonies would have claimed, on such irresistible grounds of justice, a right to adopt similar measures, that they could not have been refused permission to do so, without producing an alienation of their affections, fatal to the authority of the British Crown.

As it was, there were great complaints as to the description of emigrants that went to the North

American Colonies; and it was only by showing that the Government had neither the power nor the right to interfere as to the selection of emigrants, that these complaints were met*. If the emigrants had been sent out by the Government, it would also have been universally felt that the Government could not possibly repudiate the responsibility of providing for them on their arrival in the Colonies; and the experience of what occurred in Ireland during the famine but too clearly shows how readily the multitude of destitute emigrants, who in the year 1847 reached the shores of America, would have thrown themselves upon the public, had this been possible. Nothing but the pressure of absolute necessity would have compelled them to make the exertions and submit to the hardships through which they were in fact provided for.

Nor should it be overlooked, that if destitute labourers arrive in such a country as Canada in greater numbers than can be absorbed by the existing demand for labour, they must be exposed to quite as much distress, and there will be as much difficulty in maintaining them, for a time at least, as if they remained at home. In a new country, where additional land is continually being reclaimed from the wilderness, it is impossible to assign a limit to the number of labourers who may be received with advantage, if they are really industrious and arrive in due succession,

* See Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners enclosed in the Despatch of December 1, 1847, already quoted.

because the labourers of one year become the employers of labour of a few years later; but those who arrive without capital to enable them to settle, and who cannot find employment, are exposed to still more hopeless destitution than at home,—a destitution moreover which it is even more difficult to relieve. It has been clearly proved by experience that, without incurring an expense far beyond what could be justified by the object in view, it is impracticable for the State to undertake to provide in a Colony, any more than at home, employment for large numbers of labourers, and that it is still more impossible to furnish to such labourers capital to enable them to become settlers.

Hence we judged it to be our duty to confine the measures we adopted on the subject of emigration to those which had for their object to enable individual proprietors or Poor Law Unions, under certain restrictions, to send out emigrants, to guard against the abuses which experience had shown to be likely to arise, and to facilitate, on the other side of the Atlantic, the distribution of those who arrived seeking work, to the places where they could most easily find it. We were anxious also to have adopted measures to encourage emigration indirectly, by providing for the more regular settlement of the unoccupied lands of the Colonies, and thus increasing the demand for labour; but the opinion of all the local Authorities was so adverse to the plans of this kind which were suggested, that none of them were carried into effect.

The result has shown the soundness of the views upon which we acted. Without any interference on the part of the Government, and without any expense to the public, the tide of emigration has now set in so strongly from Ireland to America, that many persons are beginning to fear that the drain of the population, instead of being insufficient, will be too great. I see no reason for apprehending this; but with the present facilities for communication, I believe that the drain will continue, until the great disparity between the value of labour in Ireland and on the other side of the Atlantic shall be put an end to, and till the wages paid in Ireland shall be such as to afford a comfortable subsistence to the labourer. There is every reason for desiring that, till this has been accomplished, emigration should go on at its present rate, or even more rapidly; and, on the other hand, it can hardly be doubted that, as this alteration in the relative value of labour takes place, emigration will reach its natural limit, and gradually decline.

It is a remarkable circumstance, in the present emigration from Ireland, that it is effected not only without charge to the public revenue, but with comparatively little demand upon the private means of individuals in the United Kingdom. The Emigration Commissioners have ascertained that the remittances made by former emigrants to their friends and relations in this Country amounted last year to nearly a million of money*, taking into account only

* £990,000: see the Commissioners' Report for 1852, p. 12.

those remittances made by channels which admit of their being traced, and without reckoning the sums sent by private hands, or other means, of which it is known that the aggregate amount must be very large, though individually the sums so sent are usually small. The money thus transmitted from the United States and the British Colonies is chiefly for the purpose of assisting those to whom it is sent to emigrate; and it is now a common practice for several friends or relations in Ireland to club their means, so as to enable one or more of their number to emigrate; and the individuals so sent save out of their wages what is necessary to carry out the rest in succession. The able-bodied son or husband frequently emigrates in the first instance, and then remits to his wife or parents the means of joining him in America; and it has been clearly ascertained that, of late years, the great majority of Irish emigrants who have landed at New York, or in Canada, have been proceeding to join their friends or relations who had gone before them. It is highly to the credit of the Irish national character that there should exist so generally amongst the lowest classes of the population such strong feelings of family affection, and such fidelity and firmness of purpose, as are implied by the great extent to which this mode of conducting emigration has been carried.

The result of leaving emigration to proceed spontaneously, has thus been to effect a transfer of population from one side of the Atlantic to the other, to an

extent far beyond what could have been thought of, if it had been to be accomplished by the direct agency of the State; and at the same time avoiding the enormous expense, and the abuses, which no care could have prevented, had such an operation, even upon a comparatively small scale, been carried on at the public expense, by any machinery that could have been devised. But it has been objected that, although these advantages of the policy which has been pursued cannot be denied, they are to a great extent counterbalanced by the fact that, under this system, the greater part of the emigrants from the United Kingdom, instead of increasing the population and wealth of British Colonies, have gone to promote the progress of the United States. If the United States were to be regarded as a hostile Power, the force of this objection could not be denied; but their interests are now so intimately bound up with our own, that the emigrants from our shores, in augmenting the wealth and population of the United States, are in effect contributing to promote British trade and British prosperity. Canada also, it must be remembered, has, in proportion to her previous population and to her means of employment, received full as many, if not more, of the emigrants from the United Kingdom than the neighbouring Republic.

I shall have occasion to make some further observations upon emigration when I come to speak of the Australian Colonies; but for the present I must revert to the affairs of Canada, with reference to which there

still remain two or three matters which it is proper for me to mention. Of these I will first notice the endeavours that have been made, to place the commercial intercourse between Canada and the United States on a more satisfactory footing. The Parliament of Canada having availed itself of the authority granted to it by the Act of 1846, to repeal the differential duties formerly levied on imports from foreign countries, the merchants and manufacturers of the United States have now had for some time as free access as those of this Country to the markets of Canada, while the agricultural produce of the United States has also, as it is well known, been allowed to compete upon equal terms with that of the Colony in the British market.

In these circumstances the inhabitants of Canada have naturally felt it as a great grievance, that their own agricultural produce should not be admissible for consumption into the United States, except on the payment of what is practically a prohibitory duty. It has therefore for the last four or five years been an object, sought with great earnestness by the inhabitants of Canada and the other British Provinces, that an arrangement should be concluded with the United States, for allowing a reciprocally free trade between those States and the British dominions in North America in agricultural produce and a few other articles. In order to effect this object, negotiations have been carried on with the United States Government; but although no pains have been spared by the British

Minister at Washington, with the assistance of gentlemen deputed for that purpose by the Provincial Governments, in endeavouring to induce the Government of the United States to make a concession which is manifestly one which in all fairness this Country is entitled to ask, hitherto these efforts have been fruitless. It is not surprising that this refusal of the United States, to meet the just expectations of the people of Canada, should have created among the latter a strong disposition to enforce retaliatory restrictions on the trade carried on between themselves and their neighbours; and I consider it by no means one of the smallest services which it was in our power to render to the Colony, while we were entrusted with the direction of affairs, that we succeeded in preventing the adoption of any measures of this kind, not by a direct and formal refusal to sanction them, but by unofficially discouraging their being brought forward.

Though the restrictions upon Canadian commerce still maintained by the United States, are marked by a spirit of selfish unfairness far from creditable to the Republic, or rather to those by whose influence in its councils they are kept in force, nothing I think can be more clear than that they are infinitely more injurious to the United States themselves than to Canada, and that, on the other hand, the consequence of any retaliatory measures to which Canada might be provoked to have recourse, would fall chiefly on herself. It is of the exclusion of their agricultural produce, and particularly of their wheat, from consumption in the United

States, that the Canadians principally complain; and as wheat is at times dearer in the adjoining States of the Union than in the Province, the Canadian farmer is no doubt a loser by the restriction, to the extent of this difference of price, whatever it may be. But as the United States are upon the whole exporters of agricultural produce, and must probably for many years to come continue to be so, it is certain that the price of corn in their own markets must in general be regulated by that which they can obtain for the surplus they export, in the foreign market, in which they meet the Canadian produce on equal terms. Hence it is impossible that the price of corn in the Union can be kept for any length of time much higher than it is in Canada, and the loss to the Canadian farmer, from being deprived of this additional market, must be comparatively trifling.

The injury to the United States themselves, from the restriction, is by no means so trifling. Since the completion of the St. Lawrence Canals, and the repeal of our Navigation Laws, Canada is becoming a formidable rival to the United States, in the great trade carried on in the export of flour to the various markets of the world which draw their supplies from the fertile lands of Western America. Of the two lines of communication between the great lakes and the sea, the one by the St. Lawrence to Quebec, the other by the Erie Canal to New York, the former possesses the great advantages of not requiring any trans-shipment of goods and produce between the most remote of the

Western Lake ports and the sea, and also of admitting of the use of much larger vessels than can be employed in the Erie Canal. The consequence is that a great saving of time, and probably a saving of money also, can be effected by the use of this line in bringing produce from the West to the port of shipment, and likewise in sending the various goods required for consumption in the interior from the seaport to the place of their destination. New York has a countervailing advantage over Quebec and Montreal, in the lower rate of freight to the European and other principal markets of the world; but since the repeal of the Navigation Laws, and the opening of the Canadian ports to the flags of all nations, this advantage has been greatly reduced, and there is reason to believe that the trade between the far West and the principal ports of the world will be most cheaply carried on through the St. Lawrence. This being the case, it is clear that a competition is just beginning, which promises to be a very severe one, on the part of the Canadian ports with New York, for the enormous trade which is already carried on, and is daily increasing, in the exchange of the surplus agricultural produce of the industrious settlers on the lands washed by the great American lakes, for the various supplies which they require.

In this exciting competition it is obvious that the Canadian miller and merchant must be directly assisted by the maintenance, on the part of the United States, of restrictions on the import of Canadian wheat; since, if these restrictions have any effect at

all, they must tend to keep the price of wheat in the United States at a higher level than in the adjoining provinces; and, in so close a race, a slight difference may be material in determining which of the rivals for the trade shall be able to supply the foreign consumer on the easiest terms. If it were possible that the law of the United States could succeed in its object, and maintain a rate of prices in the Republic materially higher than in Canada, the effect of this would probably be, that in no long time a large part of the trade in flour from New York to Europe, to Cuba, and to Brazil, would be transferred to Canada, and that the manufactured goods, the sugar and other supplies required in return by the settlers in the West, would be conveyed to them by the same route. So clear does it seem to me that this is the tendency of the existing restriction on the importation of the agricultural produce of Canada into the United States, that, in the interest of the former I should wish these restrictions to be maintained for a few years, until her trade with the West can be thoroughly established, were it not that I have unlimited faith in the general rule, that in every case the removal of restrictions upon the freedom of trade is certain to be attended with advantage to all whom those restrictions affect.

Looking at the subject in this light, I believe that the true policy for this Country and for Canada to pursue, would be to abstain from any further negotiation or communication whatever with the United

States, respecting the duties imposed by them on Canadian produce, leaving them to deal with the question as they may think best for their own interest, and not allowing their decision to have any influence in regulating the Canadian tariff: this should be determined solely by a consideration of what rates of import duty on different articles may be best calculated to raise the revenue required for the public service, with the least pressure upon the community, and the least diversion of capital and industry from their natural channels. Perhaps it is hardly to be expected that the people of Canada should acquiesce in a policy so different from that which nations have hitherto almost universally agreed in following; but at all events it is earnestly to be hoped, that the Provincial Parliament will be wise enough to abstain from any legislation of a retaliatory character. To exclude the United States from the markets of Canada, because they are so injudicious as not to admit Canadian produce to their own market, would, on the part of Canada, be simply to punish herself for the faults of her neighbour, and to deprive herself of the advantages of the trade she now enjoys, because she is not allowed to carry on a still larger one. The Canadian consumer only purchases goods imported from the United States, because they cost him less than similar goods obtained from any other quarter; and there would surely be no sense in taking from him this advantage, because the Government of the United States will not on their side allow their

own people to purchase from Canada what could be most cheaply obtained there.

I have entered into this question further than I should otherwise have done, because it involves a general principle to which I attach the highest importance, and also because it affords an example, which proves that without depriving the Colonies of the full enjoyment of political liberty, and of the right of managing their own affairs, the Government of this Country does possess the means of exercising a powerful influence over their councils, and that the connection of the various parts of the British Empire need not be rendered so merely nominal as some persons suppose, by the abstinence of the Mother-country from exerting an imperious control over her Dependencies. There can be no doubt that a Government, acting upon opposite views of commercial policy from those which, with the support of Parliament, your Administration maintained, would have led Canada into the adoption of measures of retaliation against the United States, for their restrictions on her commerce; and, as I have said, I believe that we have rendered no slight service to the Colony and to the Empire by giving a different direction to her policy*.

Another question which has lately occupied public attention in Canada, is that relating to the Clergy Reserves. It is well known that by the Canada Act

* Since this was written I have observed, with regret, in the Colonial newspapers, that different views are now likely to be acted upon by the Provincial Government.

of 1791, one-seventh of the un-granted lands of the Colony were set apart for the support of a Protestant Clergy, reserving however to the local Legislatures of the two Provinces the power, with the consent of the Imperial Parliament, of varying or repealing this enactment. For many years this provision had excited much discontent in both Upper and Lower Canada, but especially in the former. In the hope of allaying this feeling, it was enacted by Parliament in 1840, when the Provinces were united, that these lands should be sold, and the proceeds applied in certain proportions to the endowment of the Clergy of different denominations; those of the National Churches of England and Scotland receiving a share far exceeding that which would have been assigned to them had the division been regulated by the number of members of the several Churches.

I regretted this arrangement at the time it was made, fearing that, from the opinions prevailing in Canada, it would not long be acquiesced in as a permanent settlement of the question. You may perhaps remember that, not being myself in office, I communicated to you the opinion I entertained, but abstained from any public opposition to the measure, because it was obvious that such opposition to an arrangement on which you, as leader of the Government, were agreed with the leaders on the other side, must have been ineffectual, and could only tend to diminish any little chance there might be that the arrangement would be accepted permanently in the Colony.

My anticipation that it would not be so received has proved correct; it has been found impossible to prevent the subject being again agitated in the Province; and in the year 1850 an Address to the Queen was voted by the House of Assembly, praying that Her Majesty would recommend to Parliament a measure for the repeal of the Imperial Act of the 3rd and 4th of Vict. c. 78, and for enabling the Canadian Legislature to dispose of the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves, subject to the condition of securing to the existing holders for their lives the stipends to which they were then entitled. This Address was answered by a despatch to Lord Elgin, which he was instructed to lay before both Houses of the Provincial Parliament, and in which he was informed that it had appeared to Her Majesty's Government, on mature deliberation, that the desire expressed by the Assembly ought to be acceded to, and that a recommendation would be made to Parliament accordingly. He was told that, "in coming to this conclusion, Her Majesty's Government have been mainly influenced by the consideration, that, great as in their judgement would be the advantages which would result from leaving undisturbed the existing arrangement, by which a certain portion of the public lands of Canada are made available for the purpose of creating a fund for the religious instruction of the inhabitants of the Province, still the question whether that arrangement is to be maintained is one so exclusively affecting the people of Canada, that its decision ought not to be withdrawn from the

Provincial Legislature, to which it properly belongs to regulate all matters concerning the domestic interests of the Province."

It would have been impossible, in conformity with the principles which I have endeavoured in the first of these Letters to explain, as those on which our whole Colonial Policy was founded, to come to any other decision. It shows in my opinion the advantage of acting on those principles, and of confining the exercise of the authority of the Imperial Government to cases really calling for it, that the local Legislature, in this instance, was induced to abstain from attempting to carry measures to which the Crown could not have been advised to assent, principally by the confidence entertained, that no attempt would be made to over-rule the wishes of the People of Canada in a matter of purely domestic interest, provided that their Representatives showed due respect for the honour of the Crown, and the authority of the Imperial Parliament. There were not wanting in the Assembly Members who urged that the vested interests of those actually in the receipt of incomes from the fund with which it was proposed to deal, should be disregarded and that, without waiting for the repeal of the Imperial Act, the local Legislature should proceed at once to alter the arrangement, resting on its authority. Fortunately the Assembly listened to the more moderate counsels of those who urged, that to give the Royal Assent to an Act depriving existing incumbents of their incomes, would be regarded by the

advisers of the Crown as inconsistent with its honour, and would therefore be refused; and that to pass, without express authority for doing so, a Provincial Act for the purpose of altering the provisions of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, would be to assume for the local Legislature a power with which the Constitution does not invest it.

From the tone of the debates which took place, it may be inferred, that this judicious advice would have been little likely to prevail in the Assembly, but for the reliance placed on the adherence of the Imperial Government to the principles which had of late been observed in the exercise of its authority in the Province. I must not omit to mention also that, in the discussions on this question, which had much excited the popular passions, the French Canadians, though the interests of the Protestant churches were at stake, were generally on the side of respecting vested interests and the authority of the Imperial Parliament,—an additional proof of the good effects produced by treating them with confidence and kindness. I have only further to add upon this subject, that it had been our intention to have brought under the consideration of Parliament, in the Session of 1851, a Bill for carrying into effect what we had promised; but we were prevented from doing so by the circumstance, that the attention of the House of Commons was so long occupied by matters which could not be postponed, that there was no opportunity of submitting to it the intended Bill, until it was too late in the

Session to proceed with the measure with any prospect of success: it was therefore postponed till the present year, and was to have been brought forward in a few days, when the division took place which led to the breaking up of your Administration.

In practically recognizing, by the course we adopted on the various matters to which I have adverted, the claim of the Canadians to exercise the powers of self-government, we did not lose sight of the views I have stated in the preliminary part of this Letter as to the corresponding duties, which the exercise of the powers of self-government imposes upon the Colonial dependencies of the Empire, and to the propriety of their relieving the Imperial Treasury from a part of the charges it has been subject to on their account. The manner in which we proposed to act upon these views will be best explained by an extract from a Despatch which was addressed to Lord Elgin in the Spring of last year, in reply to one in which he had sent home an elaborate Minute, by his Executive Council, on the finances of the Colony. This Minute was founded on certain reports, presented to the Assembly in its previous Session by a Committee appointed to inquire into the public income and expenditure of the Province. Amongst other proposals for saving expense, a reduction of the salary attached to the office of Governor-General had been brought under consideration; and with reference to this suggestion we thought it advisable to explain fully to Lord Elgin, for the information of his Council

and of the Canadian Parliament, the changes which the altered state of their relations in other respects seemed to render expedient in the pecuniary arrangements between the Province and the Mother-country. The instructions sent to Lord Elgin upon this subject were so important that I must quote them at length. They were as follows.

"That portion of the Minute of your Executive Council which relates to the amount of the salary at present attached to the office of Governor-General, and your own remarks upon this important point, have attracted the more particular attention of Her Majesty's Government. The present salary of that office does not appear to me to be unduly high; on the contrary, believing it to be an object of the greatest importance to Canada that the post of Governor-General should be filled by men of political experience and of the highest ability that can be found, I regret that the salary is not at present such as in general to afford any temptation to those who have taken a lead in public affairs in this Country, to abandon their prospects at home for the purpose of accepting this office. But I concur with your Lordship and with your Council in considering the amount of the salary as of far less importance, than that this amount, whatever it may be, should be fixed, and should cease to be the subject of perpetual discussion in the Province; since such discussion, it is justly remarked by your Council in their Minute, is calculated to impair the dignity of the Queen's Representative. It might have

been hoped, that the manner in which the present salary of the Governor-General was granted for Her Majesty's life by the Provincial Legislature, by an Act of Parliament freely and deliberately passed for that purpose, would have had the effect of permanently settling a question the agitation of which is attended with so much evil.

"Experience has however proved this hope to be unfounded; nor can I see the slightest reason for believing that, if the existing arrangement were to be departed from, and any possible reduction in the salary of the office assented to by Her Majesty, the question would then be set at rest, or that a still further reduction would not be proposed as soon as it might suit the views of any political party to renew the discussion.

"There is but one mode, that I am aware of, by which any further agitation of this question in the Province may be effectually prevented, and that is, by making the salary of the Governor-General a charge, not upon the Canadian, but upon the British Treasury. This is an alteration which for many reasons I have long regarded as advisable; and it appears to Her Majesty's Government, that a fitting occasion for proposing it is now presented, in consequence of the desire manifested by the Canadian Parliament for a revision of the Civil List. But it is impossible that such an alteration can be recommended to Parliament, except as part of a general measure for placing the fiscal relations of the Mother-country and the Colony

on a footing adapted to the greatly altered circumstances of the present time, as compared to those under which the existing arrangement of those relations has grown up.

"Canada (in common with the other British provinces in North America) now possesses in the most ample and complete manner in which it is possible that she should enjoy it, the advantage of self-government in all that relates to her internal affairs. It appears to Her Majesty's Government that this advantage ought to carry with it corresponding responsibilities, and that the time is now come when the people of Canada must be called upon to take upon themselves a larger share than they have hitherto done, of expenses which are incurred on this account, and for their advantage. Of these expenses, by far the heaviest charge which falls upon this Country is that incurred for the military protection of the Province. Regarding Canada as a most important and valuable part of the Empire, and believing the maintenance of the connection between the Mother-country and the Colony to be of the highest advantage to both, it is far from being the view of Her Majesty's Government, that the general military power of the Empire is not to be used in the protection of this part of Her Majesty's dominions. But looking to the rapid progress which Canada is now making in wealth and population, and to the prosperity which she at this moment enjoys, it is the conviction of Her Majesty's Government that it is only due to the people of this Country, that they

should now be relieved from a large proportion of the charge which has hitherto been imposed upon them, for the protection of a Colony, now well able to do much towards protecting itself.

"In adopting this principle, I need hardly observe to you, that Her Majesty's Government would merely be reverting to the former Colonial policy of this Country. You are well aware, that up to the period of the war of the American Revolution, the then British Colonies which now form the United States, as well as the West Indian Colonies, were required to take upon themselves the principal share of the burden of their own protection, and even to contribute to the military operations undertaken to extend the Colonial possessions of the British Crown. The North American Colonies defended themselves almost entirely from the fierce Indian tribes, by which these infant communities were frequently imperilled, and furnished no inconsiderable proportion of the force, by which the contest of British power with that of France was maintained on the continent of America; and the West Indian Colonies did not, in proportion to their means, make less exertions.

"Her Majesty's Government would have thought it right at an earlier period to revert to this former policy of the Empire, and to extend to Canada measures of the same description with those which have already been adopted as respects the Australian Colonies, had it not been that till lately there were circumstances connected with the commercial and general

condition of Canada, which seemed to render the time unfavourable for effecting so important a change. The difficulties under which commerce and industry laboured, were of a very aggravated description, and produced their usual consequences of political excitement and discontent; nor ought it to be concealed, that much of the prevailing distress was attributable to the changes which had taken place in British legislation. The combined effect of the stimulus given by the Act of 1843 to the investment of capital in preparations for supplying this Country with flour from Canada, and of the subsequent general repeal of all restrictions on the importation of corn and flour into the United Kingdom, had undoubtedly been to cause very heavy losses in Canada, and till these had been recovered, it would have been inexpedient to add to the burdens of the Province.

"But the season of commercial depression in Canada has now passed away; the repeal of the Navigation Laws, and the opening of the St. Lawrence Canals, which the Province has been enabled to construct, by a loan raised on highly favourable terms, on the credit of the British Treasury, has given a great impulse to its trade; and the remarkable increase of the Customs' revenue, which you have lately reported to me, affords a clear and striking proof of the return of prosperity. Under these circumstances, it appears to Her Majesty's Government that no more favourable opportunity could be found for placing the fiscal relations of the Mother-country and the Colony on a permanent and equitable

footing. They are the more induced to adopt this view of the subject, because they are prepared to recommend to Parliament, that assistance of the same kind with that which has proved so eminently useful to Canada in the construction of the St. Lawrence Canals, should be extended to her in respect of another public work, calculated to be hardly less beneficial to her than these Canals. In another despatch I will explain to your Lordship the views of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the means by which it is hoped that the construction of the Quebec and Halifax Railway may be accomplished. I only advert to this subject at present for the purpose of observing, that while the credit of this Country is exerted to enable Canada to extend her public works and to develop her resources, I feel confident that the Parliament of Canada will readily co-operate with Her Majesty's Government, in adopting measures for diminishing the charge on the British Treasury for the defence of the Province.

"Having thus explained to your Lordship, the principles of the policy which Her Majesty's Government propose to adopt, I will now proceed to state more particularly the measures by which it is contemplated that this policy should be carried into effect. In the first place, it is intended that in future, with the exception of a certain number of enrolled pensioners, for whose location in the Province arrangements are in progress, the troops maintained in Canada should be confined to the garrisons of two or three

fortified posts of importance, probably only Quebec and Kingston. The terms of amity upon which this Country now is with the United States, and the fortunate termination of all the questions in dispute between the two nations, removes, as I trust, all risk of any attack upon Canada from the only power from which there could be any danger; and it appears to Her Majesty's Government, that if the Provincial Militia is maintained upon a proper footing, so long as peace continues, enough would be done to provide for the security of the Province, by maintaining garrisons of regular troops in the two important posts I have mentioned. In the unfortunate, and I trust improbable, contingency of a war with the United States, it is obvious that both the Colony and the Mother-country would be called upon to submit to great sacrifices, and to make great exertions for their defence; but I have no doubt that these would be cheerfully made by both, if the exigency should unhappily arise.

"Upon the reduction of the British force in Canada to the garrisons of these fortified positions, it would become necessary that the warlike stores which are kept in the Colony should be reduced, and that the barracks and other buildings which are no longer required should be disposed of; but if the Parliament of Canada should be willing to undertake to keep up these barracks and buildings, in case of their being hereafter required, there would be no objection on the part of Her Majesty's Government to make them over

to the provincial Authorities ; and if the maintenance of a British force at any of the posts now occupied should be desired, for the preservation of internal security, such a force would be readily supplied by Her Majesty's Government, if the actual cost thus incurred were provided for by the Province.

" Another charge which Her Majesty's Government would also expect that the Province should take upon itself, as part of the above arrangement, is that of maintaining the canals, now in charge of the Ordnance Department. You are aware, that these canals were executed at the sole expense of this Country, and at a very heavy cost, chiefly with a view to the military defence of the Province. Her Majesty's Government conceive, that the charge of maintaining them ought now to be undertaken by the Province, and I trust that no difficulty will arise on that head. With regard to the Indian Department, as by the arrangement lately made, the extinction of the charge (except so far as regards some payments for their lives to individuals) is provided for within five years, no further steps are required to be taken.

" In conclusion, I have now only to assure you that —while Her Majesty's Government consider that justice to the people of this Country requires that Canada, which is now so well able to support whatever establishments are necessary for her own defence and for her own advantage, should cease to occasion so heavy a charge as formerly to the British Treasury, and that it is a fitting opportunity for introducing the change

when, in consequence of proceedings which have taken place in the Province, it becomes expedient to call upon Parliament to provide for the salary of the Governor General—it must not for a moment be supposed, that these measures are contemplated under any idea that the connection between the Mother-country and the Colony could be dissolved without great injury to both, or that there is any probability that it will be so. On the contrary, these measures are regarded as safe, because Her Majesty's Government are persuaded that the great body of the people of Canada are so fully satisfied of the great benefits they enjoy from the system of constitutional government, now happily established in the Province under the authority of the British Crown, that it may properly be left to themselves to take their share of the burden of maintaining and defending an order of things from which they reap so much advantage. Under this impression, and in the earnest hope and confident belief that Canada may long continue to form an important member of the British Empire, Her Majesty's Government have adopted the conclusions which I have now explained to you*."

Our retirement from office took place before these instructions could be fully acted upon. The call upon Canada, to take upon herself a larger share than here-

* See Despatch to Lord Elgin of the 14th of March, 1851, in the Papers relating to the Civil List and Military Expenditure in Canada, presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command, on the 8th of April, 1851.

tofore of the charges incurred on her account, was intended to be coupled with an application to Parliament, not only to provide for the salary of the Governor-General, but also to give the assistance of the credit of the British Treasury towards the execution of the projected line of railway for connecting the British Provinces in North America. The final result of the communications between the several Provinces on this last subject was not received, until we had ceased to be the advisers of the Crown. While this remained uncertain, we were not in a position to bring the question under the consideration of Parliament; I will therefore say nothing further with respect to it, except that I learned with deep regret that the scheme for the execution of the projected railway, to which the three Provinces had with much difficulty been brought to agree, had not received the approbation of our successors.

Without however waiting for the time when the whole of the proposed arrangement could be submitted to Parliament, we had already for some time been taking measures for largely reducing the expenditure of this country in Canada. With this view a local corps of cavalry which had been employed was discontinued, and a further reduction of the regular force stationed in the Province, beyond that which we had previously made, was ordered in the beginning of this year, and has, I believe, since our retirement from office been carried into effect, steps having been at the same time taken to enroll and settle upon land,

in such a manner that their services may quickly be obtained when wanted, a considerable number of pensioners from the army. Plans previously under consideration for building barracks for the troops in Canada, and which, if I remember right, were to have cost not far short of a million of money, were abandoned*. Instead of building new barracks at the expense of the Mother-country, the Provincial Government was called upon to provide accommodation for the troops which it appeared to that Government desirable to retain in other places than the fortified posts, and in this manner quarters were provided for a regiment at Montreal. The Provincial Government was also called upon to defray the expense of moving detachments of troops, when they were required in aid of the civil power. An arrangement was also made for immediately reducing, and altogether stopping at the end of five years, the expense of what is called the Indian Department in Canada, which had hitherto cost this Country between £13,000 and £14,000 a-year. I have not the means of ascertaining what is the total saving to the British Treasury thus effected, but it must amount to a very considerable sum.

With regard to Canada, it only remains that I should sum up in a few words the results of the course of policy which I have described. In the pre-

* In the second Report (1849) of the Select Committee on Army and Ordinance Expenditure, and in the Evidence given, much information will be found as to the expense which must have been incurred in providing barracks for troops in Canada, had the former system of military defence been adhered to.

ceding pages I have shown that, within the last few years, there has been a most gratifying improvement in the state of political affairs and of public feeling in the Province; that the affections of a large part of the population which had been alienated, have been regained; and that all classes now evince an ardent attachment to the British Crown, and to the institutions under which they live; that the hateful animosities and rancour, created by civil war and differences of national origin, have almost disappeared; and that the party divisions which still remain, are not greater than those which are to be found under other free Governments; that a system of constitutional government, copied from our own, has been firmly established and is universally acquiesced in, while its principles are now generally understood and appreciated; and that the best evidence of the successful working of this system of government has been afforded by the passing of a variety of useful laws, all tending to promote the welfare of the people and the progress of society. Nor has the improvement been less marked, or less rapid, in what relates to the material interests of the Province. The temporary difficulties occasioned by a sudden change in the commercial policy of the Empire having passed away, the removal of restrictions and regulations, by which the industry of the Province was hampered or diverted into artificial channels, has produced its natural effects, and the trade and agriculture of Canada have risen from their depression, to a prosperity both greater than that which they formerly

enjoyed, and more secure, since it does not depend upon any monopoly or partial advantages granted to them in the British market, but is the result of exertion and enterprise called forth by the wholesome stimulus of competition.

The most striking evidence of the degree to which Canada is now prospering is afforded by the state of her finances and public credit. When we were appointed to office, in July 1846, we found Canada in a situation of some financial difficulty, the large expenditure occasioned by her great public works (though, I believe, wisely incurred) had for the moment pressed heavily on her resources, and a member of the Provincial Administration (Mr. Cayley), who had come to England for the purpose of endeavouring to raise money to meet some pressing demands on the Colonial Treasury, experienced the greatest difficulty in disposing of the 6 per cent. Debentures of the Province, though the state of the English money-market was still by no means unfavourable; and, if I remember right, no large amount of these Debentures could be sold even at a price somewhat below par. In the present year Mr. Hincks, who now fills the office formerly held by Mr. Cayley, has been in this country, and it was his duty, as it had been that of his predecessor, to raise money for the Provincial Government; but so greatly has its credit improved, that no difficulty whatever has been experienced in procuring all that was required, and the 6 per cent. Debentures,

which could not formerly be disposed of at par, have commanded a price of 115 to 116*.

The revenue, the income derived from the tolls on the canals, and the trade of the Province as shown by the amount of exports and imports, have all increased with extraordinary rapidity†, and the indications of

* It appears, from the following Price-list of American Securities, which I have extracted from a recent newspaper, that the credit of Canada now stands fully as high as that of her republican neighbours; her inferiority in this respect having, a very few years ago, been one of the main arguments used by those who contended that her connection with this Country was an obstacle to her prosperity.

	Redeemable.	Prices.
United States 5 per cent. Bonds . .	1865 .	95 to 98
United States 6 per cent. Bonds . . .	1862 .	103½ „ 104½
United States 6 per cent. Bonds. . .	1868 .	108½ „ 109
Ditto 6 per cent. Stock	1867–68 .	106½ „ 107½
New York State 5 per Cents. . .	1858–60 .	97 „ 98
Pennsylvania 5 per Cent. Stock . . .	—— .	87 „ 88
Ohio 6 per Cents.	1870–75 .	104 „ 105½
Massachusetts 5 per Cent. St. Bonds .	1868 .	109 „ 109½
Maryland 5 per Cent. State Bonds . .	—— .	96½ „ 97
Virginia 6 per Cent. Bonds	1886 .	99½ „ 100
Kentucky 6 per Cents.	1868 .	99 „ 100
Tennessee 6 per Cents.	1890 .	98 „ 99
Canada 6 per cent. Bonds	1874 .	115 „ 116

† I subjoin some statements showing the extent of the increase which has taken place:—

Year.	Gross Revenue Customs.	Total Nett Revenue of Province.	Gross Revenue Welland Canal.			Gross Revenue St. Lawrence Canals.			Value Imports Customs.	Value Exports Customs.
	£.	£.	£.	s.	d	£.	s.	d	£.	£.
1846	422,215	512,993	27,410	1	6	8,894	10	1	2,510 869	
1847	414,633	506,826	30,549	17	8	15,375	14	6	2,350,978	
1848	333,029	379,645	29,064	7	3	14,539	14	3	3,191,328	2,521,599
1849	444,547	513,431	34,741	18	8	17,855	4	8	3,002,599	2,498,773
1850	615,694	704,254	37,925	17	7	20,393	0	10	4,245,517	2,990,428
1851	737,439	824,184	50,460	6	8	22,812	12	1	5,358,697	3,241,180

prosperity and of rapid progress everywhere to be seen, are such as to strike the most careless observer. The advance of the Colony has been most rapid during the last three years; but I think it right to add, that its progress from very small beginnings, during the whole time it has formed part of the British Empire, has been most unjustly depreciated; and although it has been a sort of fashion to draw an unfavourable comparison between Canada and the flourishing Republic of which she is the neighbour, careful inquiry has recently shown that, so far from Canada having anything to fear from such a comparison, it is one which, if fairly made, is greatly to her advantage. She has advanced and is advancing even more rapidly than her republican neighbour in population, in wealth, and in commerce. I do not wish to encumber this Letter with unnecessary statistics; I therefore abstain from going into the details which would support what I have asserted; and instead of doing so, will refer you to the exceedingly able lectures delivered in March last, at Toronto, by the Reverend Adam Lillie, and published in the 'Journal of Education' of Upper Canada. In these lectures it is demonstrated, by a minute comparison of the statistics of Canada and of the most flourishing States of the Union, that the rate of advance has been decidedly more rapid in the former than in the latter.

I would add, that the opinion of an impartial and intelligent observer, who has lately published a highly interesting volume, giving an account of the

impression made upon his mind by what he observed during a short tour in the United States and Canada, is still more decidedly in favour of the latter. I allude to Mr. Tremenheere, who, in his 'Notes on public subjects in the United States and in Canada,' has shown that the Canadians are far from having any reason to envy their neighbours, with respect either to their progress in wealth and material prosperity, or, to what is of still higher interest, the degree to which they enjoy the blessings of freedom and good government, and their comparative exemption from those abuses from which no human institutions can be entirely free. I believe you are acquainted with this very interesting volume; if not, I cannot better conclude these remarks on the affairs of Canada than by recommending it to your notice. In my next Letter I shall have to speak of the other British Provinces in North America.

September 10*th*, 1852.

LETTER VI.

LOWER PROVINCES OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—NEWFOUNDLAND.

My dear Lord John,

Having in my last Letter entered so fully into the affairs of Canada, I may notice more briefly those of the other British Provinces in North America, since much of what I have said respecting Canada applies equally to them. In two of these Provinces—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—the same system of government which has been established in Canada, has been brought into successful operation; and I am willing to hope that the same may be said of Prince Edward's Island, though I fear in the latter the experiment has been tried somewhat prematurely, and that the population of this Colony is hardly sufficient for the effective working of the machinery of a form of government better adapted to a community in a more advanced stage of its social progress.

In carrying into effect the changes which have been made in the mode of administering the affairs

of these Provinces, though there have been various protracted discussions and much correspondence, but one question has been raised, involving a general principle of importance, which has not already been adverted to in considering the transactions of Canada. The question to which I refer, is that as to the extent to which the actual holders of situations in the public service should be regarded as having vested interests; that is, whether they have a fair right to expect not to be deprived of their employment without compensation, unless for misconduct.

This is a matter upon which a very different feeling prevails on the whole continent of North America, from that which exists in this Country. In the United States it is well known to be the practice to treat the holders of office, from the highest to the lowest, as having no vested interest whatever in their employments, and as being always liable to dismissal at a moment's notice, at the pleasure of the party in power. The proverbial ingratitude of Republics to those who serve them has been manifested in these States in the strongest manner, and little or no consideration has been shown for the interests of even the most distinguished of their citizens who have devoted themselves to the public service.

In this Country, on the other hand, although with very few exceptions all offices in the public service are held legally and technically at the pleasure of the Crown, yet the rule, that only the holders of what are called political offices are to be removed without

compensation for any other cause than misconduct or inefficiency, has been so completely established by public opinion, that there is scarcely an instance of its being departed from. The adoption of a similar rule in Nova Scotia was recommended in a despatch to Sir John Harvey, of which the following is an extract. After describing the practice in this Country, I proceeded to observe :—"Though it is not without some inconveniences, I regard this system as possessing, upon the whole, very great advantages. We owe to it, that the public servants of this Country, as a body, are remarkable for their experience and knowledge of public affairs, and honourably distinguished by the zeal and integrity with which they discharge their duties without reference to party feeling; we owe to it, also, that as the transfer of political power from one party in the State to another is followed by no change in the holders of any but a few of the highest offices, political animosities are not in general carried to the same height, and do not so deeply agitate the whole frame of society, as in those countries where a different practice prevails. The system, with regard to the tenure of office, which has been found to work so well here, seems to be worthy of imitation in the British American Colonies; and the small population and limited revenue of Nova Scotia, as well as the general occupation and social state of the community, are in my opinion additional reasons for abstaining, so far as regards that Province, from going further than can be avoided without giving up the principle

of executive responsibility, in making the tenure of offices in the public service dependent upon the result of party contests *."

Since the date of the despatch from which the above extract is taken, the rule which it recommends as to the tenure by which offices in the public service should be held, has been recognized by all parties in these Colonies, as that which is to be observed. I may be permitted to remark, that until the reasons for adopting this practice, and the limits within which it should be followed, had been thus distinctly explained, there was a strong disposition amongst many of the Colonists to prefer a different system, and to follow rather the example of their neighbours in the United States than that of the Mother-country; but for the last three or four years no such disposition has been shown; the offices which are to be considered political have been in general determined and limited to a very small number, and the propriety of not removing the holders of other offices, except for misconduct, has been received as an admitted principle of the Government. It is not, in my opinion, easy to over-estimate the advantages of the establishment in the Colonies of this rule, which I believe, in this Country, to be one of our chief securities against corruption in the administration of public affairs, and against that over-violence of party spirit which is the great danger of all free governments. What I have

* See Despatch to Sir John Harvey of the 31st of March, 1847, page 30, House of Commons Sessional Paper, No. 621 of 1848.

learnt of the working of the opposite system in the United States, from the reports of the most judicious observers, strongly confirms me in this opinion, and increases my satisfaction that it has not been adopted in British America.

A more difficult part of the same general question has been, whether these Provinces should also conform to the practice of the Mother-country, according to which it is held that, when the public interest requires an office, which is not one of those known as political offices, to be abolished, or its nature to be so altered as to call for the removal of the holder, the person thus deprived of it shall receive compensation for his loss. This rule has been very strictly followed in this Country, and I believe with great advantage; but the prevailing opinion on the other side of the Atlantic is by no means favourable to it, nor was it without some reluctance that the Assemblies in the different British North American Provinces were induced to recognize it, and to make compensation to those persons whom the introduction of the new system of government has rendered it necessary to deprive of their offices. This object has however been accomplished, and some provision (in general an adequate provision, though in one or two instances it might have been wished that it had been on rather a more liberal scale), has been made for all those who have lost offices which they had previously a right to regard as permanent, but which under the present system of government are

included amongst those considered as political. The settlement of these questions, and the policy which has been pursued in the administration of these Provinces, have been followed by a marked improvement in their condition, and in retiring from office we had the satisfaction of leaving them in a state of high prosperity, and with a loyal and contented population.

Having thus described the progress and results of the discussions which have taken place as to the mode of conducting the government of the Provinces of British America generally, I will abstain from adverting to various matters relating to their separate concerns, which, though far from being devoid of interest, would lead me into greater detail than would be convenient, if I were to attempt to enter into them. But there is one subject which, though immediately affecting only an individual Colony, involves principles of wider application, and of so much importance that I cannot leave it unnoticed.

In New Brunswick a question, which has given occasion to much discussion, has been raised, as to whether the authority of the Crown can be exercised with propriety in order to prevent the grant of bounties by the local Legislature, for the purpose of encouraging certain branches of industry. It was our opinion that the grant of such bounties ought not to be permitted, and an Act of the Legislature of New Brunswick granting a bounty for the cultivation of hemp having been sent over for confirmation, the Lieutenant-Governor was informed

that, as the Act was of limited duration, and inconvenience might result from its disallowance to those who had undertaken the cultivation of hemp in the expectation of the bounty, Her Majesty would not be advised to disallow it; but he was instructed to refuse his assent to any Act having a similar object which might in future be passed. The House of Assembly, in April 1849, voted an Address to the Queen, in which they represented that this was a matter "purely local," on which "the Legislature of New Brunswick might safely be left to the free exercise of its discretion," and prayed that the instructions given to the Lieutenant-Governor might be reconsidered. We did not, after full deliberation, agree in this view of the subject, nor regard the question as merely local.

It has always been held to be one of the principal functions of the Imperial Legislature and Government to determine what is to be the commercial policy of the Empire at large, and to prescribe to the various Colonial Legislatures such rules as are necessary for carrying that policy into effect. Thus, while the policy of what is called protection was adhered to, very severe and onerous restrictions were imposed on the commerce of the Colonies by the Navigation Laws, and by various Acts of Parliament under which differential duties were levied upon the produce of foreign countries, as compared to the same articles, the produce of the British dominions. To enforce these regulations the administration of the Customs department in the Colonies was kept almost entirely in the hands

of the Treasury, as I have already had occasion to notice.

But even while this restrictive policy was adopted, the Colonial Legislatures were not permitted to increase the amount of differential duties levied on goods, the produce of any particular countries. In the year 1843 a circular was addressed by Lord Derby, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Governors of the British North American and West Indian Colonies, instructing them not to give their assent to any Acts which might be tendered to them, "by which duties might be imposed on goods in reference to their place of production, or to the place from which they might be exported." These instructions were given on the ground, that the various local Legislatures of the Colonies could not pass laws for this purpose, without the risk of creating confusion and inconvenience by the want of consistency that could hardly fail to arise in the legislation of so many independent authorities on such a subject.

When Parliament, after a protracted discussion of many years, finally determined upon abandoning the former policy of endeavouring to promote the commerce of the Empire by an artificial system of restrictions, and upon adopting in its place the policy of Free Trade, it did not abdicate the duty and the power of regulating the commercial policy, not only of the United Kingdom, but of the British Empire. The common interest of all parts of that extended Empire requires that its commercial policy should be the same throughout its

numerous dependencies; nor is this less important than before, because our policy is now directed to the removal—instead of, as formerly, to the maintenance—of artificial restriction supon trade. The benefits of a liberal commercial policy will be greatly increased by its general adoption by the principal nations of the world, which we may hope to see eventually brought about; but it would materially interfere with the attainment of this happy result, if it should be observed by foreign countries that the former and narrower policy of endeavouring by bounties or restrictions to divert capital and industry to other than their natural channels, was adopted with the assent of the Imperial Government in any part of the Queen's dominions.

On these grounds we came to the decision, that the Lieutenant-Governor should be instructed to inform the Assembly that we were not prepared to advise Her Majesty to comply with the prayer of their Address by recalling the instructions he had received, and to point out that we had thought it the more necessary to come to this determination, because we were persuaded that measures of the kind which had been proposed would be not only injurious to the Empire at large, but peculiarly so to New Brunswick herself. The argument of the Assembly, that because capital was scarce in the Province, and its resources comparatively little developed, the granting of bounties was necessary, instead of supporting the conclusion drawn from it, afforded on the contrary a strong reason against their policy. The more scarce capital may be in any

country, the more obvious is the propriety of turning it to the best account; while the effect, and indeed the object of bounties is to cause capital to be withdrawn from those branches of industry to which, if left to itself, it would be applied as the most remunerative, in order to be employed in pursuits which, without such assistance, would not yield sufficient returns to induce individuals to follow them. The funds also from which alone bounties can be paid must be derived from taxes, which of course must in some shape or other fall upon the general industry of the community.

Considerable dissatisfaction was manifested in New Brunswick at this decision, and in September, 1850, the Lieutenant-Governor reported that the prohibition of differential duties and bounties by the Imperial Government was regarded as a capricious interference with the right of the Colonists to regulate their own taxation, and dispose of their own money for the purposes of internal improvement. In the despatch containing this report, the Lieutenant-Governor transmitted a Minute of his Executive Council intimating a strong wish that the Legislature of the Province should be allowed to impose differential duties on importations from the United States, to the extent of those imposed by that country on importations from New Brunswick, in the belief that nothing would tend more speedily to bring about a liberal interchange of commodities than such a retaliatory act as was contemplated.

It thus clearly appeared that the question as to whether bounties should be allowed was (as we had from the first regarded it) one of very great importance. It would have been necessary, in order to meet the wishes of the inhabitants of New Brunswick, to withdraw not only the instructions to the Lieutenant-Governor of that Province, with respect to the grant of bounties, but also the more general instructions contained in Lord Derby's circular of 1843, on the subject of differential duties. The question, in short, was nothing less than whether the Imperial Government (using the word government in its widest sense) should abandon the authority it had always exercised of regulating the commercial policy of the whole Empire, and should permit every separate Colony to legislate without restriction on commercial subjects. We came to the conclusion that this change ought not to be acquiesced in; that, for the reasons I have stated, the power of determining the general commercial policy of the Empire ought to be retained by Parliament, and that it was the duty of the responsible servants of the Crown to advise such an exercise of the Royal authority as should be necessary to prevent the policy which Parliament had deliberately adopted, from being counteracted by the measures of the local Legislatures.

We were also satisfied that we had been right in considering the grant of bounties by the Colonial Legislatures, as one of those measures from which the sanction of the Crown ought to be withheld on this ground, since the attempt thus artificially to foster

particular branches of industry, at the expense of others, is altogether inconsistent with the principles of that commercial policy which has been sanctioned by Parliament. It also appeared to us, that bounties were further objectionable, because they might be granted by one Colony in such a manner as to derange and injure the trade of another; indeed in neighbouring Colonies they could hardly be granted without having this effect to a greater or less extent. A despatch was addressed to Sir Edmund Head on the 1st of November, 1850*, explaining these views, and expressing our regret that the instructions he had received should have created dissatisfaction, but declining to withdraw or modify them.

The Assembly adhered to its views, and on the 28th of April, 1851, voted some strong resolutions in assertion of its right to pass measures of the kind objected to. These resolutions were voted at so late a period of the Provincial Session of 1851, that no decision upon the subject was required from us until that of the present year should be about to commence. There were also various circumstances, which made it expedient that the consideration of the question should be deferred as long as possible, and it consequently remained undecided when the change of Administration took place, nor do I know what the determination of your Cabinet would have been. My

* The Despatches on this subject have not, I believe, been laid before Parliament, but they were communicated to the Local Legislature.

own individual opinion is, that there was no reason for abandoning the view of the subject we had taken in the first instance, and that the right course for us to have followed, would have been to adhere to the instructions originally given to the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, issuing similar instructions for their future guidance to the Governors of the other Colonies.

This question was connected with another and very important one with respect to the adoption of more stringent measures to prevent foreign vessels, and especially those of the United States, from fishing within the limits of the fisheries to which British subjects have an exclusive right. There had long been a general, though far from a unanimous wish, on the part of the Colonists, that more effectual means than have hitherto been employed should be made use of, to enforce the exclusive rights of fishing which belong to British subjects; but no necessity for giving any fresh instructions on the subject had arisen previously to our retirement from office. When that event took place, the question had been brought under our consideration by the proceedings of the local Legislatures; but I know not to what conclusion we should have come upon it. My own belief is that, while the right of this Country to exclude any but British subjects from fishing within a certain distance of the coasts of the British territory is beyond dispute, the enforcement of that right would not be calculated to promote the well-understood interests either of the Mother-country or of the Colonists.

The rights of private property in the mouths of rivers, and in other situations where the fisheries must, by their very nature, be appropriated by a limited number of individuals, ought of course to be protected, and respect for the general regulations, which are made for the preservation of the fisheries and the maintenance of order, ought also to be strictly enforced. But I am persuaded that, to prevent the fishermen of the United States from pursuing their occupation within the limits reserved by treaty to British subjects, where there is ample room for all, because the British fishermen fear the competition of their active rivals, is an error founded upon the old and narrow views of monopoly and commercial jealousy. The inhabitants of the Colonies, in their close proximity to the fishing-grounds, and from their being thus enabled to carry on the fishery from their own homes, possess advantages of which they cannot be deprived, and which will always secure to them as large a share of the fishery of their own coasts as their population and disposable capital will allow them to take. But there are other and more attractive occupations open to the Colonists, and the number of hands they can spare for the fisheries is very small in proportion to the apparently inexhaustible supply of fish on their shores. The two Houses of the Legislature of Prince Edward's Island, in a joint petition to the Queen, in the year 1847, attribute the neglect of the fisheries "principally to the people employing themselves in the more congenial pursuits of agricul-

ture," and justly observe, that as a recent Census had shown little more than a seventh of the total area of the Island to be in cultivation, it was improbable that there would be any material alteration in this respect during the present generation. In the same petition they point out that, in these circumstances, it is an advantage to the Colony that the fisheries they cannot carry on themselves should be carried on by the fishermen of the United States, who create a demand for the produce of the farmers, and give a general stimulus to the trade and industry of the Island.

In the other Colonies, and particularly in Nova Scotia, the nature of the country and the habits of the population do not lead to such a preference of agriculture to the prosecution of the fisheries; on the contrary, they contain a numerous body of hardy, enterprising, and successful fishermen. But it has never been alleged, so far as I am aware, that the resort of fishermen from the United States to the shores of the Colonies interferes with the Colonial fishermen by depriving them of ample space for fishing. The only interference on the part of the former, of which the latter complain, is their competition with them in disposing of their fish; and I see no more advantage in protecting fishermen from competition than in protecting farmers, planters, or manufacturers from the same wholesome stimulus.

I am aware that the desire on the part of the Colonists to exclude the fishermen of the United States from a participation in their fisheries, arises in no

small degree from the circumstance that the Government of the United States gives a bounty to its own fishermen, and at the same time imposes a heavy duty on the importation of fish taken and cured by those of other nations. The maintenance of these regulations is considered to render it impossible for the British fishermen to meet their rivals on equal terms, and thus to make it necessary for their protection strictly to enforce the exclusive rights of fishing given to them by treaty.

There can be no doubt that the present laws of the United States on this subject are injurious to all parties, and therefore it would be very desirable to make an arrangement with that Government, by which our fishermen should be placed on equal footing in their markets with their own, in consideration of our consenting not to enforce our exclusive right to the coast-fisheries of the Colonies; but if no such arrangement can be made, I do not see that it at all follows that we should be taking a wise course for our own interest, in rigidly enforcing our rights of exclusion. On the contrary, I believe that, by permitting the United States fishermen to share with our own the fisheries of our coasts, without further restriction than is necessary for the maintenance of order, we should soon practically render the regulations of the United States so onerous to themselves that they could not be persevered in. In their competition with each other, the fishermen of the United States would not confine themselves to fishing, but would

purchase from the British fishermen fish to make up their cargoes as soon as possible; the vessels also would often, though nominally belonging to the United States, be really manned and owned, in part at least, by British subjects, and the general trade of the Colonies would be increased (as the Legislature of Prince Edward's Island has pointed out) by the demand of the United States fishermen for supplies. In these different ways a large proportion of the bounty paid to encourage the fisheries by the United States Government would find its way into the pockets of the Colonists; and fish, the produce of British capital and labour, would be largely introduced into those States as their own, and on the same advantageous terms. No doubt the fishery would be principally carried on under the United States' flag; but the wealth of which it would be the source, and the maritime population it would nurse up, would be found to a great extent to be really British.

This is by no means mere speculation. In the Bay of Fundy, that which I have described as likely to happen is already taking place on a small scale; and in a memorial addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia by the corporation and the representatives of the city and county of Halifax, bearing so late a date as the 2nd of September last, it is urged as an objection to the admission of American fishermen to the British fishing-grounds, that such an irregular trade would take place between the fishermen of the two nations, "to the great injury," as it is said, "of

Colonial traders, and loss to the public revenue." These apprehended evils there is, I believe, no real reason to fear; while it is important to observe that this memorial against the policy of admitting the fishermen of the United States to the British fishing-grounds contains what amounts to a distinct admission, that the bad consequences of that policy would extend only to the Colonial traders and curers, while to the Colonial fishermen it would open a new market for the produce of their labour.

This is precisely in accordance with our experience of what has occurred in a similar case on our own coasts at home. Some twenty years ago repeated applications were made to me, as Member for the county of Northumberland, by the fishermen of that county to press upon the Government the necessity of taking more effectual measures to prevent the alleged encroachments of the French fishing-boats, which annually come over for the herring-fishery on the east coast of England and Scotland. I remember that, upon inquiring into the subject, I found that, although the curers of fish might have some reason to apprehend injury to their trade from the visits of these foreign boats, to our fishermen they afforded, on the contrary, the great advantage of an additional demand and competition for all the herrings they could catch. At first it was impossible to convince the Northumberland fishermen that this would be the case, but there soon ceased to be any doubt on the subject. Though I believe, by the laws of France,

the bounty given by that country for the cure of herrings can only be claimed for those which are sworn to have been caught by French subjects, the French boats on our coasts, finding they can procure their cargoes more speedily and more cheaply by purchase than by fishing for themselves, ceased in general even to take the trouble of shooting their nets*, and for several years past have been acknowledged by our fishermen to be their best customers.

So notorious has this become, that in the present year the French Government has sent an armed steamer to watch the proceedings of their own fishing-boats, and to enforce their obtaining their herrings *bonâ fide* with their own nets, instead of buying them from the British fishermen. With this striking example before our eyes of the value of custom-house oaths, of the manner in which regulations for artificially forcing a trade are evaded, and of the absurd extent to which the interference of the Government with the occupations of individuals must be carried, in order to have even a chance of preventing such evasions, it seems to me clear that the best way of defeating the unwise measures of the United States, with regard to the fisheries, would be simply to ab-

* I have heard, though I cannot vouch for the fact, that the master of one of these French boats was seen, after he had obtained his cargo by purchase, busily employed in wetting his nets and beating a few holes in them with stones; and being asked what he was doing, he answered, that he was making the nets look as if they had been used, that his application for the bounty might be passed by the Custom-house of his own Port.

stain from attempting to control the natural course of trade and industry, and to offer on the contrary every facility to the United States fishermen, for resorting to the coasts of British America, and for carrying on unrestricted intercourse with the Colonists.

But though this would, as I believe, be the wisest policy with a view to the real interests of the British Provinces, it is one which the opinions generally prevailing among their inhabitants would have rendered it difficult for the Government to adopt during the last five years. I therefore consider it to have been a great advantage to the Public that, during that time, we were not compelled to decide upon either effectually asserting or abandoning the British claims to these fisheries. This is one of the many questions in the solution of which the aid of time was calculated to be useful, and with respect to which it was a gain to postpone as long as possible the adoption of any decisive measures.

The question of the Fisheries affects Newfoundland even more than the continental Provinces of British America; but, in other respects, this Colony has but little resemblance to them. Though its occupation as a fishing-station dates from a very early period of our Colonial history, until within a comparatively recent period the policy of our Government was not to promote, but as much as possible to discourage, the regular colonization of Newfoundland. Settlements grew up there in spite of what was done to prevent them; and in these, for a long time, the powers of

Government were exercised by the officers in command of ships-of-war on the station. It is only about twenty years since any form of representative government was established in the Island; and at first the experiment was so little successful, that Parliament was compelled to interfere, and partially to withdraw the privileges which had been conceded to the Colonists. By an Act passed during your Administration, in the year 1847, the Constitution originally given to the Colony was, with some amendments, restored to it, and placed on a permanent footing. Newfoundland was not therefore considered by us as yet ripe for the system of government now established in the other North American Colonies. We thought it highly desirable that, in its present social condition, the experiment of applying to it arrangements which have only very lately been brought into successful operation even in Canada, should at all events be deferred; and that in the meantime it should be governed in the same manner that all our Colonies having representative institutions used to be, until about ten years ago. There was however a disposition in the Colony to press for the adoption of the same system which is in force in the other North American Colonies, and the question still remained under discussion when we retired from office.

There are a few more particulars which deserve to be mentioned with respect to Newfoundland, before I pass to the Colonies in a different part of the world.

Your Administration commenced in a year of great

calamity to this Island. In 1846 the town of St. John's was almost destroyed by fire, and a great number of the fishing-craft by a hurricane in the Autumn; while both the fishery and the potato-crop fell far short of their usual produce, the failure of the latter arising from the same disease which, in the same year, was so destructive in Ireland. By this combination of misfortunes Newfoundland suffered so severely (the loss by the fire alone having been reported, by Commissioners appointed to ascertain its amount, to fall little short of £890,000*), that it may well be matter of surprise that she should already have recovered from them to the degree that she has. A sum of £30,000 was voted by Parliament for the relief of the distress occasioned by the fire, and a very considerable amount of money was obtained for the same purpose by a collection made in the churches of this Country under a Queen's Letter, and by subscriptions both here and in the other North American Colonies. From these various sources sums amounting altogether to £102,500 were received.

The distribution of this money was attended with the difficulties which are always experienced in guarding against abuses in applying large sums as charity for the relief of distress, however real and urgent that distress may be. To the poorer sufferers by the fire, direct pecuniary grants were made in proportion to their losses, to the amount of about £64,000;

* See Sir J. Harvey's Despatch of the 6th of August 1846. House of Commons Sessional Paper of 1851, No. 679, p. 27.

but half the amount of the church collections, under the Queen's Letter (£14,500), was reserved for rebuilding the Protestant Church, which had been destroyed by the fire; and the balance of the whole amount available was applied to meet the most urgent wants of the Colony, which must otherwise have been provided for by taxation, which would have fallen principally on the higher class of the sufferers by the fire, to whom no direct assistance had been given. A good deal of agitation was got up in the town of St. John's, against the decision not to distribute the whole sum which had been raised in consequence of the fire, in direct grants to the sufferers; the retention of half the money raised by the Queen's Letter for building a new Protestant Church being especially objected to. It was however shown by the Governor, that the sums distributed by the Relief Committee to the sufferers by the fire had by no means conduced so much as they ought to the real benefit of the community, which would be much more promoted by a different application of the available balance; while, with regard to the rebuilding of the Protestant Church, it seemed impossible, with justice, to refuse to devote to this object a considerable proportion of the sums collected in the churches of this Country under the Queen's Letter, since it was clear that the money had been given under the full expectation, on the part of the donors, that this would form one of the principal purposes for which it would be used.

The refusal to apply the balance of the money col-

lected for the relief of the Colony in making additional grants of money to those of the sufferers who were anxious to obtain this kind of compensation (which, much to their credit, the merchants and superior classes of the inhabitants had declined) was founded on different but very important considerations. When Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, who had been appointed Governor, reached Newfoundland, in the early part of 1847, he found that the money already distributed by the Relief Committee had produced a demoralizing effect, and, what was still more serious, this was closely connected with a most mischievous system of pauperism which had grown up in the Colony.

Though the ordinary earnings of a working-man in Newfoundland, during the spring and summer, are so high that, in the absence of sickness or some unlooked-for calamity, he ought to be able to maintain himself and his family for the whole year in far greater comfort than falls to the lot of the labouring population in most countries of the world, yet the habits of the people were so improvident, that in every recurring winter they were exposed to extreme distress, which it had become the practice to relieve by small money-payments to the most destitute, from a grant made by the Legislature for that purpose. Almost as soon as he reached the Colony, Sir Gaspard Le Marchant saw the absolute necessity of putting an end to this system, not only because the expense it occasioned pressed heavily on the finances of the Colony, which were in a state of great embarrassment, but still

more because it was producing the usual effects of pauperism by encouraging habits of improvidence and demoralizing the population.

It also appeared that the distribution of money in small sums, to the poorer class of occupiers who had suffered by the fire, had tended to aggravate this evil, and to increase the disposition of those to whom this aid had been afforded, to depend rather upon the assistance to be given to them by others, than on their own exertions, for an improvement in their condition. Hence it was considered that the balance still available of the sums voted by Parliament, or raised by subscription for the relief of the Colony, ought not to be distributed in the same manner, but might be turned to far better account by being differently applied. A portion of this money was accordingly made use of to provide for the repair of the Government House, and for some other urgent expenses, including the relief of the destitute, which could not otherwise have been met without either increasing the debt or adding to the weight of the taxation of the Colony; and the remainder was reserved for "any unforeseen exigencies which might arise either from a shortness of the fisheries, or a repetition in the failure of the crop, more especially in the outports, as in the present crippled state of the finances of the Colony the Government would have no resources to fall back on*." This course was attended with much

* See Sir Gaspard Le Marchant's Despatch of the 10th of May 1847, pp. 75 and 76 of the Paper quoted above.

advantage. By obviating the necessity of increased taxation, the money sent to the Colony was made to contribute to the benefit of all classes of the inhabitants, in the manner which was at once the most safe and the most just, since any other application of it would have done little for the merchants, who had been the greatest sufferers by the fire, and had not, like the labouring classes, been compensated for their losses by the rise of wages occasioned by the great demand for labour created by the works rendered necessary by the fire. By leaving the relief of the destitute to be provided for from funds entirely under the control of the Executive Government, the correction of the mode of administering that relief which had previously been in use, was also rendered less difficult than it otherwise would have been.

Availing himself of the power thus placed in his hands, Sir Gaspard Le Marchant adopted the principle of giving relief to able-bodied labourers, only by employing them in the formation and construction of roads, taking care to exact from those who asked for such assistance a full return in labour, for which he generally paid, not in money, but in provisions, and always lower wages than those usually current in the Island. In this manner the demoralizing effects of the former system of giving gratuitous assistance to the destitute were avoided, while at the same time works of great importance to the progress of the Colony were executed. Roads had been much wanted, and by those thus made the town of St. John's was

brought within comparatively easy reach of other parts of the Colony, giving to these districts the advantage of a better market for their produce, and to the capital the benefit of a more abundant supply of some of the chief articles of consumption. The precaution adopted at the suggestion of Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, in the early part of 1847, of reserving a portion of the available funds for unforeseen exigencies, turned out to have been highly necessary; for, in the Autumn of that year, the potato-crop was more extensively injured by blight than it had been in the previous season, and the effect of this calamity was much aggravated by a like failure of the crop having occurred in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island, from the latter of which Colonies Newfoundland had been accustomed to draw a considerable part of the supplies of food it required. The distress in the Colony during the following winter was consequently very great, and its finances were in a condition which would have rendered it exceedingly difficult, from its own resources, to afford to the population the relief that was urgently required; but the money which had been reserved, being applied with rigid economy and strict precautions against abuse, was sufficient to meet the deficiency of its own means, and enabled the Governor to carry Newfoundland successfully through this trying and anxious season.

But the efforts of Sir Gaspard Le Marchant to improve the condition of the Colony were by no means limited to the measures which it was in his power

to carry into effect by his authority as Governor; he endeavoured to inspire both the Legislature and individuals with energy and enterprise; and, mainly owing to his judicious advice and encouragement, successful attempts have been made to increase the resources of the Island. Formerly, the climate of Newfoundland being supposed to be too severe for the growth of corn, none worth mentioning was grown there, and very few cattle were reared. Wheat, barley, and oats have now all been cultivated to some extent, and have been found to answer well, yielding abundant crops of very good quality; and the recent shows of stock have afforded gratifying evidence of the increased attention paid to the rearing and fattening of cattle. This result has been brought about chiefly by the efforts of Sir Gaspard Le Marchant; he urged upon the inhabitants of Newfoundland the importance of attempting the cultivation of corn; and with the assistance of the Legislature and of the Agricultural Society of the Colony, he caused seed-corn and agricultural implements to be imported and distributed, especially in the minor Settlements commonly known by the name of the Outports, where the use of even the most ordinary implements was almost unknown. He himself imported from England cattle of improved breeds, and offered prizes for stock, which excited a useful emulation among the inhabitants in rearing and feeding cattle. He also procured the establishment of two mills in the town of St. John's, none having previously existed in the Island.

By these and similar measures Agriculture, as distinguished from the mere rude cultivation of potatoes, was established as a branch of industry in the Colony, which was thus rendered less exclusively dependent than formerly upon the fisheries and the cultivation of the potato,—resources which, however valuable, are too precarious to be relied upon alone. From the accounts laid before Parliament, which extend up to the beginning of the present year*, it appears that the distress under which the Colony was labouring had passed away, and that it was then advancing towards a prosperity which bade fair to be both greater and more stable than that which it formerly enjoyed. But I am sorry to learn from the newspapers that the inhabitants, encouraged by two or three good seasons, have this year again trusted too much to their potatoes, which have suffered not less than in former years, and it is to be feared that they will in consequence be much distressed.

October 2, 1852.

* See Sir Gaspard Le Marchant's Despatch of April 12, 1852, in the Annual series of Reports on the Colonies presented to Parliament in the last Session.

LETTER VII.

AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.—SALE OF LAND.—
EMIGRATION.

My dear Lord John,

I now turn to a different and distant quarter of the globe, in which, as in North America, the Possessions of the British Crown are fast rising into a great nation. I refer to Australia, in which the last six years have likewise been marked by rapid progress and by important events. The subjects relating to the Colonies in this part of the world, which chiefly occupied our attention during your Administration, were those of the constitution of their governments, the regulation under which land is disposed of, emigration, and transportation.

Upon our accession to office, both the system of disposing of Crown lands in these Colonies, and the state of things with regard to the transportation of offenders, required our immediate consideration. With regard to the Crown lands, there had been for some time much discussion as to the propriety of maintaining the minimum price and the regulations

as to the sale of land which had been established by the Act of Parliament of 1842, and also on the claims of the persons who, under the name of squatters, occupy very large tracts of land for pastoral purposes, and who had loudly demanded to be allowed to hold this land under such conditions as would enable them to make improvements upon it. The policy we adopted was that of adhering to the principles of the Act of 1842, but at the same time acceding, partially at least, to the wish of the pastoral occupiers of land for an improvement in their tenure. We proposed, and carried through Parliament, during the short remainder of the Session of 1846, after our appointment to Office, a Bill, by which the Crown was authorized to make regulations for granting leases of land for periods not exceeding fourteen years.

Under the authority of this Act, Orders in Council were afterwards framed, by which the leasing of land for pastoral occupation was provided for, on terms which depended on the situation and character of the land. The whole of the Crown lands in the Colony of New South Wales were divided into three classes, distinguished from each other by being situated in what were termed the settled, unsettled, and intermediate districts. In the first, land was only allowed to be held from year to year, as it was considered that it might be wanted within a comparatively short period for purchase. In the unsettled districts, where any such demand was for a long time unlikely to arise, the land was to be held for fourteen years, and the lessee entitled,

if it should afterwards be sold, to be repaid the value of improvements he might have made. In the intermediate districts, the terms granted to occupiers were of the character which the name given to these districts implies. Regulations, different in form but the same in principle, were also established under the authority of the Act of Parliament in South and Western Australia*.

Subject to the change made by allowing land to be thus let, we thought it our duty steadily to resist the strenuous efforts which were used to induce us to propose the repeal of the Land Sales Act, of 1842, and to abandon the policy on which it is founded. In this course we were supported by Parliament, nor can I entertain any doubt that it was the one best calculated to promote the advantage both of the Colonies and of the Mother-country. The subject is one of so much importance, and on which there has been so much misrepresentation, that I must say a few words as to the nature and origin of the system of disposing of the Crown lands which is now in force in the Australian Colonies, and which we maintained against a strong opposition.

The system is a very simple one; it requires that the Crown lands (except those wanted for public purposes) shall only be alienated by sale, and shall be sold

* See Sessional Papers, House of Lords, No. 114, and House of Commons, No. 252, of 1847, and Papers relative to the Occupation of Crown Lands in New South Wales. Presented to both Houses by Command, in 1848.

without favour or partiality to the best bidder or the first applicant. All land is required to be put up for sale in the first instance at public auctions, which are held periodically, and where it is offered at an upset price of not less than £1 an acre. What is not disposed of at these sales, is afterwards open for purchase at the upset price to the first applicant; and the Governors are instructed to endeavour to keep the surveys so far ahead of the demand for land, that considerably more than is likely to be purchased may be offered at the periodical auctions, and may remain afterwards open for purchase by the first applicant at the upset price; so that persons desirous of buying land may always be able to do so at once, without waiting for these auctions. I may observe, in passing, that a careful attention to this point is of great importance, in order to obviate one of the few real inconveniences which in the first instance arose from the adoption of this system. By having as large an extent of land as possible surveyed before it is wanted, and held in readiness to meet the demands of purchasers, after having its value tested by being offered for sale by public auction, (an essential security against even the suspicion of jobbing,) the object is gained of defeating those schemes for extorting money from Settlers, by threatening to run up the price of the land they want at the public sales, which were at one time complained of. Of the proceeds of the land sales, one half at least is required to be spent on immigration; the other half is applicable to such objects

of public utility as may be thought advisable by the Governor and the Secretary of State, with the sanction of the Treasury.

Such are the rules (omitting details immaterial for my present purpose,) now in force, under the authority of the Act of Parliament of 1842, in those of the Australian Colonies to which it applies. The policy to which these regulations are intended to give effect was first adopted by Lord Ripon, who, being then Secretary of State for the Colonies, promulgated at the beginning of 1831 rules, which substituted the system of disposing of the Crown lands in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land by public sale, for the former mode of doing so by grant. This change was made partly for the sake of raising funds for emigration to these Colonies, but far more with the view of ensuring the distribution of land to those by whom it is really wanted, and preventing those abuses which experience had proved to be inseparable from the system, of disposing of land by grant, in a territory which is in the course of being settled. In spite of stringent regulations, and of honest and strenuous efforts, as I believe, on the part of the public servants in the Colonies to enforce these regulations, it was found practically impossible in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, under the former system, to prevent land from being acquired by persons to whom either the means or the inclination to turn it to account were wanting. Nor could the conditions under which land was granted, and which required that it should be

improved, be enforced. It is hardly necessary to point out, that this was an evil urgently requiring correction, since there is no such fatal obstacle to the progress of a Colony, as having a large proportion of its lands engrossed by persons who make little use of the estates they have acquired.

By adopting the system of disposing of land only by sale to the best bidder, or, where there have been no bidders by auction, to the first who offers the minimum price, this evil is in a great measure got rid of, since few will pay down money for land which they do not really intend to use. At the same time the money received for land may be so laid out, that the *bonâ fide* settler may receive, in the increased value for occupation of the land he buys, full compensation for the price he has been required to pay for it. It is, in my opinion, an essential part of the policy which ought to be pursued with regard to the alienation of land, that the proceeds of the land sales should be always so applied as to give this advantage to the purchaser.

In the Australian Colonies, the application of the receipts from land, in the introduction of immigrants of the labouring class, has been in conformity with this principle; there can be no doubt, that the value of the land which has been sold has been greatly increased by the supply of labour thus furnished to the purchasers. Land obtained by free grant, but without that supply, would have been acquired by Settlers on terms far less really advantageous than

what they have purchased with money which has been applied to immigration. The substitution of public sale for grants, as the mode of disposing of the Crown lands, had the further object (which it has completely attained) of relieving the local Government from imputations of favouritism, which were highly injurious to its character and authority. The grants necessarily differed greatly in value, and every man who thought his own less good than his neighbour's, naturally imputed the favour supposed to have been shown to another to improper partiality. There were also continual attempts to evade the regulations, which the local Government incurred much hostility by resisting. Few comparatively as the settlers then were, the amount of correspondence, and the frequency and bitterness of the complaints against the acts of the Colonial Authorities, in the administration of the Crown lands previously to the change of system in 1831, were so great as almost to exceed belief.

Great as had been the evil of the former practice, of disposing of land by grant, yet its abrogation was met by loud remonstrances on the part of those connected with Australia, whether resident there or in this Country; and they almost unanimously joined in representing to Lord Ripon that the measure would be ruinous to these Colonies. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the change of system which had been determined upon was adhered to, and from this may fairly be dated the great and almost marvellous advance which the Australian Colonies have made in popula-

tion, in wealth, and in prosperity. The system which was adopted has effectually answered its purpose of ensuring a just and fair distribution of the Crown lands, to those most capable of turning them to account; and at the same time it has afforded the means of meeting, in some degree, the greatest want of the Colonies, by providing a fund to meet the sending out a large number of free labourers.

Prior to this period, there was scarcely any emigration whatever of persons belonging to the working classes to Australia; and the supply of labour in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (the only British Colonies which then existed in that part of the world, except the infant settlement of Western Australia,) may be said to have been exclusively furnished by convicts. I had the honour of serving as a member of the first Commission, appointed to promote emigration, in the year 1831, with the Duke of Richmond, Sir Francis Baring, Sir Henry Ellis, and Mr. Hay; and we found that at that time there were no vessels trading with Australia in which passages could be obtained at a price suitable to emigrants of the working classes. The cheapest passage that could then be procured cost, if my memory does not deceive me, from £35 to £40. It was by means of this first Board of Emigration Commissioners, and the application of the small sum of £10,000 derived from the first land sales (or rather by the expenditure of that sum in anticipation of what these sales would produce,) that a commencement was made, in the de-

spatch of vessels to New South Wales fitted for giving passages at a moderate cost to emigrants of the rank of labourers*. From this apparently feeble beginning, emigration to Australia has grown up to the great importance it had attained even before the recent gold discoveries; so that at the end of 1850 the population of New South Wales, which twenty years before did not probably much exceed 50,000†, had increased to 265,000, or more than fivefold. The number of free immigrants who had arrived from the 1st of January 1832, to the 1st of January 1851, were upwards of 123,000; and the expenditure of the Colony, in the introduction of immigrants, has in the same time fallen little short of a million and a half‡, the whole of which large sum had been derived from the land revenue, or obtained as advances on its credit.

These results are not a little remarkable, and are entirely due to that system of disposing of the Crown lands by sale, which was commenced, as I have said, in 1831. In that year the upset or minimum price was only five shillings an acre, which was subsequently advanced to twelve shillings, and ultimately to a pound. At first the regulations rested only on the authority of the Crown; but in 1836 the subject

* See the Papers relating to Emigration and the disposal of Crown lands in the Colonies, presented to Parliament in 1831 and 1832.

† See Porter's 'Progress of the Nation,' p. 758.

‡ See Reports on Colonial Blue Books for 1850 and 1851.

was inquired into by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which recommended that the principle of disposing of all Colonial lands by sale and for ready money should be affirmed by an Act of Parliament.

The subject was again investigated by the Select Committee on the affairs of South Australia, in 1841, which also came to a conclusion in favour of the system which had been adopted, and even intimated an opinion that the price of land might be raised with advantage beyond the rate of £1 an acre, at which it was then fixed in South Australia. It was believed by this Committee that the purchase of land in the Australian Colonies had been retarded by the apprehension of purchasers that the value of the lands they bought might be depreciated by the reduction of the minimum price which might at any time be made by the Crown, on the advice of a Secretary of State taking a different view of the subject from that which had of late been acted upon. To remove this feeling of uncertainty, it was recommended by the Committee that an Act of Parliament should be passed, prohibiting the disposal of the Crown lands otherwise than by sale (except for public purposes), and providing that, while the Crown should have the power of increasing from time to time the upset price of land as circumstances might seem to require, no reduction of a price once established should take place without the authority of Parliament. An opinion was also expressed by the Committee, that the upset price of

land, which was then twelve shillings an acre, might be raised with advantage*.

Having been myself one of the Committee from which this recommendation proceeded, I can vouch for the great care with which the subject was investigated by its members, amongst whom were Lord Derby, Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Molesworth, Sir George Grey, Mr. Vernon Smith, and Sir Henry Wood, who had all been accustomed to take great interest in Colonial questions. The latter was the Chairman of the former Committee on the disposal of Colonial Lands (1836). By the Committee thus constituted, the recommendation I have mentioned was agreed to, with little or no difference of opinion; and, in accordance with it, the Land Sales Act was afterwards passed by Parliament without any opposition, on the recommendation of Lord Derby, who had then become Secretary of State for the Colonies in succession to yourself.

I have thought it right to mention these circumstances, because it is one of the standing topics of declaimers against the Colonial Office, to dwell on the maintenance of the present price of land in the Australian Colonies, as a glaring instance of what is called the tyrannical and overbearing conduct of that Office; the fact being, as will be perceived from what I have stated, that it is not by the authority of the Colonial

* See Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on South Australia, of 1841.

Office (that is, of the Secretary of State), but by the authority of Parliament, that the existing regulations are maintained, and that the Act by which they are enforced is one which was passed after no ordinary amount of deliberation and inquiry, with the general concurrence of the public men of all parties who have paid most attention to Colonial affairs.

The working of the Act, far from showing that there was anything erroneous in the views of those by whom it was recommended and passed, seems to me to have proved the soundness of the principles on which it was founded; but at the same time, as might have been expected, some improvements in its details were suggested by experience. Of these the most important was that which has, I trust, been accomplished by the Act I have mentioned, as having been passed at our instance in 1846, and the Orders in Council founded upon it, by which the leasing of land is permitted under certain regulations. By these regulations, a difficulty which stood much in the way of the successful prosecution of pastoral pursuits, hitherto the most important branch of Australian industry, has been removed, without prematurely alienating the Crown lands. Though the soil and climate of these Colonies are peculiarly favourable to cattle and the production of wool, yet the amount of stock which can be maintained by the land in its natural state is so small, in proportion to the extent occupied, that it would be hardly possible to name a price for the land sufficiently low to enable the stockholder to purchase

the large tracts of land requisite to support his flocks and herds. Hence the practice had arisen of allowing the sheep and cattle farmers to occupy, under license from the Government, the lands still remaining in the possession of the Crown; but from this practice another inconvenience arose.

Under the law, as it stood previously to 1846, it was held that, except by sale, no right to land for any longer term than a year could be conferred on the occupier by the Governor, acting on behalf of the Crown; nor could the occupier be enabled to obtain any compensation for improvements made by him on the land, in the event of its being ultimately sold to another person. Hence the holders of "Runs," (as tracts of land occupied for pastoral purposes are termed,) could not prudently expend money in enclosing and cultivating any portions of their Runs, so as to diminish the heavy expense of bringing supplies from the settled districts; in erecting adequate buildings for carrying on their business, and the proper accommodation of their servants; or in constructing dams or wells to increase the supply of water, the want of which diminishes very much the power of some of the best land to carry stock.

By the system now introduced this difficulty has been obviated; in the unsettled districts the Squatter can obtain a lease of his Run for fourteen years, and is secured compensation for the improvements he may make whenever it may be sold; and in the settled districts a similar result is obtained, by giving a right

to occupy the Crown lands, until they are wanted for sale, to the owners of the adjoining lands. In this manner, all the encouragement they could fairly require has been given to the sheep and cattle farmers, who have declared themselves quite satisfied and grateful for what has been done for them*; while at the same time the Crown lands have not been improvidently alienated, before they have acquired the value they must ultimately derive from being wanted for an increasing population. It was indeed denied that this would be the operation of the regulations I have described, by those who contended that, instead of adopting them, the minimum price of land ought to be reduced. They asserted that, by the regulations, the Squatters were virtually put in possession of the land, which could never be resumed, if wanted. Experience has however demonstrated, that there was no ground for such an apprehension; and it has been

* See a letter to me from several gentlemen occupying Crown lands beyond the settled districts, enclosed in Sir C. Fitzroy's Despatch of the 29th of June, 1849, in the papers relating to the Australian Colonies Government Bill, presented by Command, on the 1st of March 1850, p. 104. In this letter the writers say:—"We cannot, in the first place, refrain from sincerely thanking your Lordship for the part you have taken in having satisfactorily settled this long discussed question, and having conferred so great a benefit on ourselves and the Colony in general. We are satisfied your Lordship would derive very great pleasure, could you see the advantages which have already accrued from fixity of tenure in the superior buildings which have since been erected, and in the general improvement in society beyond the limits of location; and this, notwithstanding the unprecedented depression of the times, which you must be well aware of, but which is wholly beyond the control of any Government."

found, as was anticipated, that by giving to the Squatters all they could fairly ask, and at the same time clearly defining their claims, the best security has been obtained against their establishing, by degrees, a right of property in the land they occupied. Already, in Victoria, above £20,000 has been laid out by one individual, in purchasing the fee-simple of land which had been occupied as a Run by another person.

Two very important objects have been gained by thus avoiding the premature disposal of these lands; in the first place, the sacrifice of the future receipts from the land sales has been averted, and the public will thus hereafter have the benefit of a very large fund, applicable to immigration or to other objects of general utility, which would otherwise have been lost; in the second place, the still greater advantage has been obtained, of preventing the available lands of the Colony from being engrossed by speculators, and thus securing to future settlers the power of obtaining land within a reasonable distance of the seats of trade and population, at a moderate price. This is, in my opinion, by far the most important object to be gained by maintaining a comparatively high price for land. There can be no doubt that, by reducing the price as much as would be necessary to meet the views of the chief opponents of the existing system, a powerful impulse would be given to the spirit of land-jobbing,—the curse of countries of which the settlement is in progress. Speculators would soon buy up (if it were sold at a very low price) the land eligible

for the occupation of Settlers; and thus persons hereafter proceeding to the Colony to settle, would be compelled to pay for land the highest price which the greediness of the land-jobber could extort, instead of paying a moderate price for land purchased direct from the Crown, with the advantage of having the money so paid expended in the introduction of labour, in the construction of roads, or in other works of utility, and thus virtually returned to them in the increased value given to their property*.

Both the Mother-country and the Colonies are deeply interested in preventing the improper and premature alienation of Colonial lands; since it is the interest of both, that every possible facility should be given to those who may be disposed to leave this country for the purpose of seeking a new home in our Colonial dominions. And it is on this account, that it seems to me both just and wise that the Imperial Government and Legislature should not, at too early a period, transfer to the local Authorities the power of determining under what regulations the Crown lands

* The evil of land-jobbing is much felt in the United States, but it is greatly checked, and the great inconvenience of having large tracts of land engrossed by persons who do not improve them, and yet refuse to sell them unless at exorbitant prices, is prevented by the system of local rates, which prevails universally in these States. The township rates and direct taxes imposed by the State, fall so heavily on land, which is held without being improved in a district which is becoming settled, that it is forced into the market as it is wanted. Unfortunately the inhabitants of the Australian Colonies have resolutely resisted the introduction of any system of local rating or of direct taxation.

in the Colonies should be disposed of. These lands constitute a vast estate, which has been acquired, and to which all the value it possesses has been given, by the very large expense which has been incurred by the Mother-country in establishing, maintaining, and protecting its Colonies. This estate the Crown holds as trustee for the benefit of all its subjects, not merely of the few thousands who may at this moment inhabit a particular Colony, but of the whole British people, whether resident at home or in the Colonies; and it is the duty of the servants of the Crown, and of Parliament, to take care that the magnificent property thus held in trust for the good of the whole Empire, shall be wisely and carefully administered with a view to that object, and not improvidently wasted, or sacrificed to the rapacity of a few individuals. But if the power of altering the regulations under which the Crown lands are disposed of, were given too soon to every Colonial Legislature, nothing is more probable than that the small society of a young Colony might think it for their interest to share among them, to the exclusion of the other inhabitants of the Empire, the lands which properly belong to all; and it is still more probable that, in such a Colony, a few rapacious speculators might have sufficient influence to carry changes, which would conduce to their personal gain, under the plausible but delusive pretence of promoting the interest of their fellow-colonists.

No doubt there is a stage in the progress of a Colony, when the power of regulating the disposal of the

Crown lands may be safely entrusted to a representative Legislature, and when inconvenience may result from withholding it. Peculiar circumstances may also, in some cases, make it proper that this should be done sooner than would in general be desirable; but I am persuaded that hitherto Parliament has acted wisely, in not giving this power to the Legislatures of the Australian Colonies.

I will not pursue this branch of the subject further, although I have given only a very slight sketch of the arguments in favour of maintaining the present price of land in these Colonies. Those who wish to enter more deeply into the question, will find it fully discussed in the Papers relating to the occupation of Crown lands in the Colonies, which have been laid before Parliament*.

It is another matter of complaint connected with the Land Sales Act, that the proceeds of these sales are not placed at the disposal of the local Legislature. I conceive that the principle for which I have contended, of regarding the Crown lands as an estate in which the whole Empire is interested, justifies the Im-

* See particularly Sir C. Fitzroy's Despatch of January 18, 1848, enclosing the Report of a Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales; and the Despatch in reply, of August 11, 1848, enclosing the observations of the Emigration Commissioners on the above Report. Papers presented by Command in 1848, pp. 55 and 123. A further Report from a Committee of the Legislative Council in reply to the Emigration Commissioners, and their rejoinder, will be found enclosed in Sir C. Fitzroy's Despatch of November 5, 1849, and mine, of August 14, 1850, in the Papers presented to Parliament in June and August 1850.

perial Authorities in prescribing the objects to which the money derived from the sale of these lands should be applied; and this principle, if I am not mistaken, is recognized in the United States, where, I believe, that the revenue accruing from the sale of the public lands is appropriated by Congress, and not by the State Legislatures. But, as I have already said, I believe it to be good policy to apply the proceeds of Colonial land in such a manner that the price may virtually be returned, by the advantages conferred upon them, to those purchasers who really occupy the land they have bought. Parliament has provided for this, so far as regards half the produce of land sales in the Colonies, to which the Land Sales Act applies, by requiring that so much of the receipts should be expended on the conveyance of immigrants to the Colonies whence the funds are derived.

The remaining portion of this revenue, it is true, is placed at the disposal of the Executive Government,—an arrangement which I concur in thinking open to objection. Though in practice a fairer and better employment of this money, than could otherwise have been ensured, has probably been obtained by leaving it at the disposal of the Crown, the exercise of an unlimited discretion in the appropriation of such large funds by the Executive Government is hardly consistent with the strict principle of a representative Constitution; and it is therefore highly desirable that a better mode should be adopted, of determining to what objects that portion of the land revenue which

Parliament has not set apart for emigration should be applied. Accordingly we proposed that, whenever District Councils should be established, they should be allowed to dispose of what remains of the proceeds of the land sold within their own boundaries, after the appropriation of the proportion required by the Act of Parliament to immigration, and after defraying the cost of surveys and the expense of measures for the benefit of the Aborigines, whose claim on this fund is the first of all. We hoped in this manner to encourage the formation of Municipal bodies, and the practical establishment of that system of local organization which it had been the purpose of Parliament in 1842 to create, but which it failed to accomplish, as the clauses on this subject in the New South Wales Constitutional Act had never been brought into operation, in spite of all the efforts, of even so able and energetic a Governor as Sir George Gipps, to enforce them. We conceived that, while the execution of public works of improvement, in the districts where the land is sold, would in principle be the most proper application of the funds so raised, the chief obstacle to the creation of Municipal bodies would also be removed, by thus placing at their disposal funds for the accomplishment of these local objects, without the levy of rates, to which there has always been a strong objection among the Australian Colonists*.

* See, in the Papers presented to Parliament, the Report of the Committee of Privy Council on the Constitutions of the Australian Colonies, and the Despatches to Sir William Denison of the 27th of

In the meantime, I am persuaded that, far from being an improvement on the existing arrangement, to place the funds derived from the sale of land at the disposal of the local Legislatures, would work great injustice to those from whose pockets these funds are derived. The land sold is principally in the more remote and partially settled districts of the Colonies; and the inhabitants of these districts and newly arrived settlers are the chief purchasers, and the persons for whose benefit the money ought to be laid out. But they are precisely those who have least weight in the local Legislatures, in which it is notorious that, from various circumstances, the inhabitants of the Colonial capitals exercise far more than their due share of influence. The effect therefore of making over these funds to the local Legislatures would be to place the money at the disposal, not of those from whose contributions it is derived, but of others who, it might be feared, would apply it to objects in which they are themselves interested, rather than for the benefit of the contributors.

Circumstances have lately occurred in South Australia, affording a significant indication of the spirit which might influence the application of these funds, if they were entrusted to the local Legislatures. It is well known that, although the river Murray is for a great part of its course well fitted for internal naviga-

July, and to Sir Charles Fitzroy, of the 30th of August, 1850. I shall have again to refer to these Papers in my next Letter, and they will be found in the Appendix (I) to this Volume.

tion, and passes through a country capable for many hundred miles of supporting a large trade, its utility is at present destroyed by the want of any communication with the sea. The Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia some time ago proposed that, to remedy this defect and render the river available for internal communication, a sum of money should be applied from the land revenue in the improvement of a harbour on the coast, called Port Elliot, and the establishment of a communication by a railway between the harbour so made and a point on the river, before it spreads out into the shallow lake in which it terminates, and where it is navigable by steamers. It was clear that, regarded merely as an investment of money, this was calculated to be a very advantageous one, since the amount proposed to be expended was far short of what would certainly be received, from the enhanced value of the lands belonging to the Crown on the line of the railway and the river; it was a scheme also eminently calculated to promote the general prosperity of the Colony. Yet to a measure of this kind a strenuous opposition was raised in the Legislative Council,—an opposition unquestionably dictated by a narrow spirit of jealousy, on the part of the inhabitants of Adelaide, to what might prove a rival port to their own.

This was before the Legislative Council of South Australia possessed a representative character; but I believe that, since its Constitution has been altered, the same spirit is likely to prevail in it not less strongly

than before, while it undoubtedly possesses greater power to give weight to its wishes. As the expense of the projected improvement was to be defrayed from a source over which the Legislature has no control, its opposition could not arrest it, and measures for carrying it into execution were in progress when we retired from office. What happened on this matter seems to me to afford a useful warning, as to the expediency of entrusting the appropriation of the funds in question to a different authority from the local Legislature.

In what I have said on the subject of the regulations for the disposal of land in the Australian Colonies, I have mentioned the large amount of money which has been derived from the land revenue of New South Wales, and applied to the introduction of immigrants. On the general subject of emigration to Australia I have to observe, that this service was carried on during your Administration upon a very large scale and with great success. When we came into office, we found that emigration to New South Wales had been suspended since 1844, because, owing to the falling off in the land sales which had succeeded the extravagant speculative purchases of a few years before, the funds applicable to this service had been for a time exhausted. In South Australia, on the contrary, the land revenue had already recovered from its depressed condition of two or three years before; and by means of the funds thus available, a steady stream of emigration had been again directed to that Colony. On the 1st of January, 1847, the Governor

of New South Wales reported that the debentures issued on the credit of the land revenue, to pay for the previous emigration, would be entirely discharged in the course of the year; and he recommended that another sum of £100,000 should be raised for emigration, which was assented to; and the renewal of emigration to that Colony, including Victoria, (which, as the Port Philip district, still formed part of New South Wales,) was sanctioned on the 30th of August of the same year.

From that time emigration to the Australian Colonies has been steadily carried on, as rapidly as the funds would permit; and in five years, to the end of 1851, the Emigration Commissioners sent there, in ships chartered by them, nearly 60,000 emigrants*.

It is unnecessary for me to give any detailed account of the manner in which this large emigration has been carried on; I believe it is not disputed that the service has been admirably performed by the Emigration Commissioners, and the results afford the best evidence of its having been so, and of the ability and unremitting care with which those gentlemen have performed their duty. Of upwards of two hun-

* The numbers sent to each Colony have been as follows:—

New South Wales	19,841
Victoria	17,561
South Australia	20,786
Van Diemen's Land	871
Western Australia	357
Total	59,416

See Twelfth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, p. 18.

dred and thirty ships, in which these emigrants were sent to the Colonies, only one was wrecked, and that almost within sight of the port of its destination, and happily without any loss of life; the rate of mortality on board the vessels has been singularly low, and the complaints of misconduct on the part of the officers in charge of them have also been very rare, especially when it is considered how difficult it must be to find a sufficient number of persons both willing to serve for the very moderate remuneration that can be allowed, and also duly qualified to discharge the exceedingly arduous duties of the surgeons, to whom the charge, not only of the health of the passengers, but of the maintenance of order on board emigrant ships, is entrusted. The selection of the emigrants is also shown, by the reports received of them after their arrival, to have been good*; though of course it is impossible that, in sending out such large numbers, the Commissioners should be able to escape being sometimes imposed upon, and induced to give passages to persons who would be rejected if their want of the requisite qualifications were known. This applies particularly to the single women; of this class it is so difficult to obtain emigrants of a proper description, and also to guard against deception as to their character, that, were not an increase of the female population in the Colonies so urgently required, it would probably have been better to send no single women.

* See Appendix No. 28 to the Twelfth Report of the Emigration Commissioners.

Referring to the Annual Reports of the Emigration Commissioners, for a detailed account of the measures adopted with respect to Australian emigration, I think it will be right that I should offer a few general observations on the principles by which our course on this subject was guided. You are aware that there have been few more popular subjects for attacks on the Government, while we were entrusted with the duty of conducting it, than that afforded by describing in the most vivid colours the urgency of the want of labour in the Colonies on the one hand, and its supposed redundancy in this Country on the other. Our incompetency, if not wilful and perverse determination to reject measures we knew to be right, have been constantly represented as the sole reason why the alleged surplus of labour and population at home was not remedied, and the prosperity of the Australian Colonies at the same time assured, by transferring to them some of the industrious but starving multitudes, by whom our streets and our workhouses were represented to be crowded. I have no doubt that those who have held the sort of language to which I refer, and which is so often to be found in the columns of newspapers, and in speeches at public meetings, sincerely believed what they were in the habit of saying; and it is certain that the opinion is very generally held, both in this Country and in the Colonies, that, although it may possibly not be the fault of those by whom the Government has been administered, that the transfer of a very large number of

our labouring population to Australia has not been effected, yet that it is highly desirable such a transfer should be accomplished, and that, if it were practicable, it ought to be undertaken by the Government*.

But, generally as this opinion has been entertained, I believe it to be entirely erroneous. Instead of seeing any indication of an excess of population in this Country, I observe on every side strong symptoms of the reverse. I know that in every county of England (I might almost say in the United Kingdom), labour and capital, to a far larger amount than are available, might be laid out in the improvement of the land, so as to yield an ample return. In those parts of the country with which I am myself acquainted, I am certain that the draining alone, which is urgently required, would occupy for many years more hands than can be spared from other work; and as the land becomes better drained, it will pay for higher cultivation, requiring the permanent employment of more labourers. In every other branch of national industry there is also an evident and rapid increase in the means of profitably employing labour. No doubt the demand for labour is at this moment much greater than it was only a short time back, and it must be admitted that four or five years ago there was much more appearance than at present of the market for labour being glutted; and

* I am speaking of what was the state of opinion on this subject a short time ago; already there appears to be a great change, and perhaps the tendency is now rather towards an unfounded apprehension of injury to the Country by an undue abstraction of population.

even now there are probably particular places where it may be difficult to find profitable employment for all the labourers who are seeking for it. But even during the times when industry was most depressed, and our population was suffering the greatest distress, it was I think clear that the real difficulty arose, not from any deficiency in the field for employment, or any want of capital to make use of the resources which the country affords, but from circumstances (such as the deficiency in the crops of both potatoes and corn in 1846, and the re-action after the over-speculation in railways), which had deranged our social economy, and above all from injudicious laws, which prevented industry from flowing into its natural channels, and the effect of which could not be expected to cease immediately on their repeal.

The present state of the Country affords the most conclusive evidence that this view of the subject was just; since, with the same field for employment as before, labour is notoriously so far from being redundant, that a want of hands is becoming a very general complaint among employers; and it may be safely asserted, that at this moment there is no efficient and healthy labourer in this country who may not calculate on earning a comfortable subsistence by his industry, if he conducts himself well, and exerts himself as he ought to find employment. If there are particular parishes in which there is still an apparent want of work for the population, it is only because there are still obstructions from the law of

settlement to the natural distribution of labour. Far from its being true (as the inhabitants of the Australian Colonies have been continually told), that there are in our workhouses large numbers of industrious labourers who have been reduced to the condition of paupers only by the impossibility of finding employment, and who, if enabled to emigrate, would at once become useful members of society, I do not hesitate to express my conviction that, except those who have been reduced to distress by age or sickness, there is hardly one to be found among the inhabitants of our workhouses who has not been brought there either by want of industry or by some fault or misconduct, which, having prevented him from succeeding as an independent labourer at home, would in all probability equally prevent him from succeeding as an emigrant in any of our Colonies*. Hence I am per-

* There can be no greater mistake, than to suppose that the qualities necessary to secure success in life at home are not equally necessary in Australia, or that those Colonies are a sort of paradise for the working man, where he is never exposed to difficulties either by his own faults, or by those fluctuations of trade, which sometimes for a time leave particular classes of workmen without employment. On the contrary, in the Australian Colonies (I am speaking of the time before the discovery of gold, for it is difficult to judge of the present state of things), the labouring man was exposed to difficulties from both these causes; and the position of most skilled labourers I believe to have been much more precarious, and, in spite of their higher nominal wages, not really so good as it now is at home, since even with their high wages they cannot there command many advantages they here enjoy. The commonest labourers can no doubt obtain much higher wages and be altogether much better off in Australia than at home, if they can make up their minds to the

suaded, it is not for the interest of the Colonies that they should look to the workhouses of this Country as a source whence an increased supply of labour may be obtained. It appears to me still more clear, that it would have been highly inexpedient, even when our labour-market seemed most glutted, that relief should have been afforded by the State to those who alleged themselves to be in distress owing to the want of employment, by giving them free passages to Australia. It may safely be asserted that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, even in the worst times, it would be found, on strict investigation, that some fault or imprudence on the part of the labourer complaining that he could not find work, was the cause of his difficulty, and that the really steady and industrious man has seldom been out of work. To establish the practice of giving relief to those who cannot find work at home, by sending them to Colonies where wages are higher than they are here, would therefore be to reverse the position of the good and bad labourers under the wholesome operation of the natural laws of society, and actually to give an advantage over the best labourers to the indifferent ones, on account of their inferiority, by considering their inability to compete with the others in the labour-market at home, a reason for giving them the means of carrying their labour to a higher market in the Colonies. I can

solitude of the bush: even to this class there are, in the various privations to which they must submit, many drawbacks from the advantages they obtain.

conceive no policy more fatal than this would be, and no course better calculated to discourage the formation of industrious and provident habits in our labouring population.

Nor is this the only consideration on which grants of public money to promote emigration to Australia (except in some very special cases, and to a very small amount) would have been objectionable, even when the home market for labour was apparently the most overstocked. It is obvious that such grants, drawn as they must be from taxes paid by the people of this Country, would only be justifiable if it could be clearly shown, that the advantage to those on whom the charge must fall would be fully equivalent to the cost incurred. And the greater the pressure upon the Country at the time when such grants are asked for, the greater is the necessity of strictly adhering to this rule. But the only advantage (at all events the only direct and immediate advantage) which the Country could gain by sending some of its inhabitants to Australia, would be that of relieving the labour-market from some of the hands supposed to be superfluous. Now a very slight calculation would suffice to show that the cost of the long voyage to Australia would be so great, in proportion to the number of labourers who could be sent there, that the relief to the labour-market at home would bear no proportion to the expense incurred in such a scheme of emigration.

More than this, I have endeavoured to show that there is not (and never has been) any real redundancy

of labour in this Country; consequently it would be most mistaken policy to seek relief from any temporary difficulties we may experience, by artificially promoting emigration at the public expense, instead of by removing any obstacles to the natural extension of the field of employment at home. It must be borne in mind that active and industrious labourers, by being sent to Australia, cease to become contributors to the wealth and revenue of the Mother-country. They will no doubt continue to be contributors to the wealth and greatness of the British Empire, and will help to increase the trade of this Country by adding to the productive power of the Colony to which they go, and to its demand for British manufactures. But if they remain at home, and find here an adequate field for their industry, they will still contribute to increase the wealth and trade of the Empire, with this further and material advantage, so far as the Mother-country is concerned, that they will also continue to be contributors to its revenue, and help to bear those heavy charges which former wars and the necessity of keeping up large establishments, entail upon the parent State, but of which no portion falls upon its Colonial dependencies. It is clear, that the more the population and wealth of the British Islands increase, the lighter will become to their inhabitants the burden of our national debt, and of the taxes to which it compels us to submit. Hence (except when there is some special object to be gained by it) to spend any part of the national income in stimulating emi-

gration, is unjust to those who remain at home, since it is applying money levied from them to an object not calculated to relieve them, but rather to check that natural increase of the wealth and population of the Country, to which alone we can look for real relief from our burdens.

For these reasons it appears to me that Parliament would not have been justified in granting, and that we should have done wrong had we asked it to grant, money to carry on any large measure of emigration to Australia. But in the absence of Parliamentary grants, it is obvious that the Government has no means of sending out emigrants to these Colonies beyond those furnished by the funds which can be raised in the Colonies themselves. Our duties, therefore, with reference to Australian emigration, were reduced to encouraging and assisting spontaneous emigration as far as we could, and applying the money available for that purpose from Colonial sources in sending out emigrants. In the last, we considered ourselves called upon to act as trustees for the Colonies, in which character we had to take care that the funds they supplied, should be laid out for them to the best advantage.

It was this simple principle of regarding the Government as a trustee, bound scrupulously to consult the interest of the Colonies in the expenditure of the money they contributed, which regulated all the measures adopted on the subject of emigration while they were under our direction. My instructions to the Commissioners who are immediately charged with this

branch of the public service, were, that they should on no account deviate from this principle; and it is only due to them to say that they entered most fully into it, and showed in my opinion great judgement and ability in applying it. General rules were drawn up, based upon the advice and information afforded by the Colonial Authorities, defining as strictly and as clearly as possible the classes of emigrants who were to be considered eligible for free passages, or rather to passages towards the cost of which only a small contribution is expected from the emigrant. In these rules, and in the amount of contribution required from the emigrants, variations were made from time to time according to varying circumstances at home and in the Colonies. The reports received from the Colonies determined to what description of labourers a preference should be given, and to what extent. The complaints so frequently made in Parliament, of the exclusion from the benefit of a passage in the Commissioners' ships, of persons who would have made excellent emigrants, because they did not come strictly within the rigid rules laid down, may be answered by observing that a public Department can only act on fixed rules; that the rules of the Commissioners as to the emigrants to be taken are carefully framed on the advice of the Colonial Authorities respecting the description of emigrants most wanted at the time; and though it may be true that some of the persons excluded by these rules would make excellent emigrants, still they have no right to complain that,

in the expenditure of Colonial money, a preference is given to those who in the opinion of the Colonists will be most useful to them.

When there is any difficulty in obtaining the required number of emigrants of the most eligible class, the rules are relaxed, so as to extend the field of selection; and in the same manner the amount of contribution required from emigrants is made to vary according to the demand for passages. Thus in the year 1848, when the check to railway enterprise and the generally depressed state of industry, by bringing a heavy pressure on the working classes, had greatly increased the number of applications for passages, the amount of deposit required from emigrants was increased, which of course tended both to limit the number of applications, and to make the funds at the disposal of the Commissioners go further. A year or two afterwards, when the revival of trade and industry at home diminished the disposition of the working classes to emigrate, it became necessary again to reduce the amount of deposit, in order to obtain the number of emigrants that was wanted; the Commissioners being instructed to endeavour always so to fix the amount of deposit, as to maintain, as nearly as possible, an equality between the number of passages which the funds at their disposal would allow them to grant, and that of applications made to them by eligible emigrants.

I may further mention upon this subject that, in 1848, being persuaded that the difficulties of the

Country were merely temporary, and that the revival of its prosperity would cause a great abatement in the disposition to emigrate, I thought it advisable to sanction the anticipation, to an extent which under other circumstances I should have thought objectionable, of the funds applicable to emigration; and the Commissioners were thus enabled to take advantage of an opportunity not apparently likely to recur, of obtaining a large number of the most eligible emigrants on very favourable terms. The result proved the advantage of this course, for the revival of the demand for labour at home led, as I had foreseen, to a great diminution in the candidates for emigration; and so marked was the effect produced in this respect by the renewed prosperity of the Country, that up to the time of our leaving Office, notwithstanding that the discovery of gold in New South Wales had been known for some months, there was still much difficulty in filling the Commissioners' ships. Since that time, it appears from the newspapers that the almost marvellous accounts of the success of the gold-seekers in Victoria has produced an eager desire for emigration, of which the Commissioners will no doubt have availed themselves, by again raising the deposit required from emigrants, if they found it in their power to do so.

I have said that, as a rule, the Commissioners take only those emigrants who are of what is considered the most eligible class; but under certain circumstances, the payment of an additional proportion of the cost

of their passage from some other source, (thus economizing the Colonial funds,) has been thought to render it advisable for the interest of the Colonists to accept emigrants not belonging strictly to the required classes. Thus after the French Revolution of February, 1848, a considerable body of English workmen and their families, who had been employed in the manufactories in the neighbourhood of Calais, were driven out of France. If they had been compelled to go to their native places in this Country, in the then state of trade, they would have been exposed to much distress; while at the same time they were represented as being a remarkably intelligent and industrious body of people, likely to prove a great acquisition to any of our Colonies to which they might be sent. But from having been employed in manufactures, they were less likely to be immediately useful than agricultural labourers, and were not qualified according to the Commissioners' rules to be accepted as emigrants. In these circumstances a departure from the ordinary practice was sanctioned, and in consideration of a part of the expense incurred being paid from another source, passages to New South Wales in ships taken up on account of the Colony were granted to these people by the Commissioners. This arrangement was made, in concert with Lord Shaftesbury, who took much interest in the matter, and assisted in raising the subscription by which the means of making the payment required by the Commissioners were provided. I am happy to say that these emi-

grants justified what was done for them, by their good conduct and industry in the Colony.

It was further regarded by us as the duty of the Government, to adopt all the means in our power to promote spontaneous emigration to these Colonies. For while it appears to me, that, for the reason I have stated, it would not be just to the tax-payers at home to apply money derived from their contributions, in the conveyance of large numbers of emigrants to Australia, yet there are advantages to be anticipated from the extension of colonization in that part of the globe, which make it desirable to give every encouragement to emigration thither, which can be afforded, without any heavy demands on the public purse. With that view measures were adopted, which are, I think, likely hereafter to lead to more important results than have yet followed from them. In my last Letter I mentioned the remarkable fact, that the greater part, if not the whole cost of the vast emigration now going on to North America is provided for by remittances made by previous emigrants to the friends and relations they have left behind, to enable them to join them in their new home. No such remittances were usually made from Australia, apparently because there existed no simple and easy mode by which Settlers there could send money to their friends at home, or provide for their being brought to the Colony. As it is certainly easier for a labouring man to save money from his wages in the Australian Colonies, than either in Canada or in the United

States, there seemed reason to anticipate that those who have gone to the former, would not be less ready to assist their friends to follow them, if the means of doing so were easily within their reach, than those who have gone to the latter are found to be. Accordingly an arrangement was made, by which persons in the Australian Colonies, wishing to apply money in assisting their friends to emigrate, are enabled to do so by paying, through the agency of the Post-office, into the Military Chest, the amount they intend to devote to this object, to which the sums so received are then applied by the Emigration Commissioners in this Country, to whom credit is given by the Treasury for the sums so paid into the Military Chest in the Colony. In this manner a perfectly simple and easy mode of remitting money for emigration is afforded to those who have already reached the Colonies; and they can thus assist their friends at home in paying for the outfit of the voyage, and the deposit required by the Commissioners from candidates for emigration.

With a similar object, it has also been provided that purchasers of Crown lands in these Colonies, may require that a certain proportion of the price paid by them for land, shall be applied in giving passages to such persons at home as they may nominate, provided that those selected are duly qualified, under the Commissioners' rules, to be received as emigrants in their ships. To this was added a regulation, by which depositors in the savings-banks are entitled to a

slight increase in the rate of interest on their deposits, upon their agreeing to receive repayment ultimately in land. The amount of their deposits would thus become immediately applicable to emigration, while this regulation was calculated to assist the most industrious and frugal labourers in acquiring land; and they were also allowed to nominate emigrants for free passages on similar conditions with the purchasers of land. The privilege granted to the latter has already been largely made use of, so much so as to create some apprehension that it may be abused; but with the precautions that have been adopted, I see no reason for uneasiness on this head. I think it indeed very likely that, if the desire to emigrate to Australia should continue to be as great as it has lately become, owing to the accounts received from the gold-fields, land-purchasers may stipulate for some payment from those whom they may enable to reach the Colony, by nominating them for passages in the Commissioners' ships. But far from seeing any objection to such an arrangement, as a private one between the parties concerned, I think it would be a very natural and proper agreement for them to make; and, so far as the public is concerned, it would clearly be only an advantage to the Colony, since it would promote the more rapid sale of the Crown lands, and a proportionally increased rate of emigration. Such agreements, in fact, would virtually to a certain extent accomplish what has always been considered a very desirable object, that namely of enabling persons in this Country

who wish to emigrate, to obtain the means of doing so, on the credit of their future earnings.

Having adverted to this as an object which has been considered desirable, I am reminded that it has often been represented as a fault in the existing system of conducting emigration, that no attempt is made to recover from emigrants sent out by the Commissioners, a portion at least of the expense so incurred. It is obvious that, if this were done, a large addition would be made to the funds applicable to emigration, and it is contended that, if part of the cost of passages provided for emigrants were considered as a loan, they would have no difficulty in repaying it by instalments from the high wages they can earn in the Colonies. It is urged that such loans have often been made by private individuals, and have almost invariably been honestly repaid; and a Society, which has attracted a good deal of public attention, has been formed by that energetic and benevolent lady Mrs. Chisholm, for conducting emigration upon this principle. I have no doubt of its being quite true that such loans made by private individuals have been generally paid; it is, I think, what might have been expected; nor does it seem impossible that this Society may be equally successful in recovering the advances it may make, provided the emigrants it sends out are well selected, and that the services of trustworthy and efficient agents in the Colony can be secured.

But the case would be very different if the advances

were made from public money, and if the Colonial Government, instead of private individuals, or the agent of a private Society, were the creditor to whom repayment was to be made. It is unfortunately only too certain that debts to the Public are regarded in a very different light from private debts, and that a disposition to evade the payment of the former is shown by many, who would be ashamed not to pay what they owe to private creditors. But unless the advances were paid willingly, the difficulty and expense would be so great, as to render it impossible to recover money by petty instalments, from a multitude of persons scattered over so wide a territory as that of the Australian Colonies.

In fact, such was found to be the case when the experiment was tried some twenty years ago. On the recommendation of the first Emigration Commission, (which I have mentioned as having been appointed in 1831,) an attempt was made to supply the urgent want at that time existing in New South Wales of artisans of some of the more ordinary trades, by sending out a certain number of men of this description with their families, under an engagement to repay a part of the expense so incurred. The wages then paid in New South Wales for such labour were so high, that these men could have had no difficulty in making these stipulated payments had they desired it; yet the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, reported that it was impossible to enforce the claims of the Government, and by his advice they were abandoned.

The great changes which have since taken place in the Colony, only tend to render the attempt to recover debts of this sort more hopeless at the present day than it was then. I mention this circumstance because it is a prevalent notion, that the Government has been culpably remiss in not taking measures to recover from emigrants sent out at the expense of the Colonies some part of the cost of their passage; and I believe that few persons are aware that the experiment was tried so long ago, and that it failed in the hands of so able a Governor as Sir Richard Bourke.

In my next Letters I will call your attention to the subject of Transportation, to the changes which have been made in the constitution of the Australian Colonies, and to their general condition.

October 1st, 1852.

APPENDIX.

A.

List of Officers appointed to the Government of Colonies while I held the Office of Secretary of State, showing the nature of their Previous Services. Those marked thus (*) were personally unknown to me at the time of their Appointment.

COLONY.	GOVERNOR OR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR APPOINTED.	PREVIOUS SERVICES OF OFFICER APPOINTED.
Canada, etc.	Governor-General, the Earl of Elgin* . .	Governor of Jamaica.
New Brunswick	Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Edmund Head, Bart.*	Poor-Law Commissioner.
Prince Edward's Island . . .	Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Donald Campbell*	
Ditto, on Sir D. Campbell's death	Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Alexander Bannerman	Member of Parliament; Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital.
Newfoundland	Governor, Sir Gaspard Le Marchant* . .	Military service, and Command of a Regiment.
Bermuda	Governor, Captain Elliot	Protector of Slaves in Guiana, previously to the abolition of Slavery; Diplomatic service in China.
Jamaica	Governor, Sir C. E. Grey	Judge in India; Commissioner in Canada; Governor of Barbadoes.
Turk's and Caicos Islands . .	F. H. Forth, Esq., President of Council of Government*	District Magistrate in Convict Service, Van Diemen's Land.
Honduras	Superintendent, P. E. Wodehouse, Esq. .	Civil Service, Ceylon.
Bahamas	Governor, J. Gregory, Esq.*	Van Diemen's Land.
Barbadoes and Windward Islands	Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Reid . . .	Military Service, as Officer of Engineers; Governor of Bermuda.

COLONY.	GOVERNOR OR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR APPOINTED.	PREVIOUS SERVICES OF OFFICER APPOINTED.
Barbadoes and Windward Islands, on the resignation of Colonel Reid	Sir William Colebrooke, C.B.	Military Service, as Officer of Engineers; Commissioner of Eastern Inquiry; Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick.
St. Vincent	Lieutenant-Governor, R. G. Macdonnell	Governor of the Gambia.
Tobago	Lieutenant-Governor, D. R. Ross	Formerly Member of Parliament.
Ditto, on the death of Mr. Ross	Lieutenant-Governor, D. Daly, Esq.*	Secretary to the Government, Canada.
St. Lucia	Lieutenant-Governor, C. H. Darling, Esq.*	Stipendiary Magistrate; Agent-general for Emigration, Jamaica.
Ditto, on Mr. Darling's promotion to the Cape	Lieutenant-Governor, M. Power*	Member of Parliament.
Antigua and Leeward Islands	Governor, R. J. Mackintosh, Esq.	Lieutenant-Governor of St. Christopher.
St. Christopher	Lieutenant-Governor, R. J. Mackintosh*	Private Secretary to the Earl of Carlisle, when First Commissioner of Woods and Forests.
Ditto, on the promotion of Mr. Mackintosh	Lieutenant-Governor, E. Drummond Hay*	Administrator of the Government of the Virgin Islands.
Virgin Islands	Administrator of the Government Sir J. Macgregor	
Ditto, on the death of Sir J. Macgregor	Administrator of the Government, Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Chads	Military Service.
Dominica	Lieutenant-Governor, Major Blackall	Military Service; Member of Parliament.
Montserrat	Administrator of the Government, Captain J. R. Booth	Naval Service.
British Guiana	Governor, H. Barkly, Esq.	Member of Parliament.
Gibraltar	Governor, Sir R. W. Gardiner, K.C.B.*	Military Service.
Malta	Governor, the Right Hon. R. More O'Ferrall	Member of Parliament; Secretary to the Treasury; and Secretary to the Admiralty.

COLONY.	GOVERNOR OR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR APPOINTED.	PREVIOUS SERVICES OF OFFICER APPOINTED.
Malta, on the resignation of Mr. O'Ferrall	Governor, Sir W. Reid, K.C.B. . . .	Governor of Bermuda; Governor of Barbadoes.
Ionian Islands [not a Colony, but the government carried on by the Lord High Commissioner, under the directions of the Secretary of State]	Lord High Commissioner, Sir H. Ward	Member of Parliament; Secretary to the Admiralty.
Cape of Good Hope	Governor Sir H. Pottinger, Bart. . . .	Services in India and China.
Ditto, as successor to Sir H. Pottinger	Governor, Sir H. Smith, Bart., G.C.B.	Military Service at the Cape, etc.
Ditto, as successor to Sir H. Smith	Governor, the Hon. G. Cathcart* . . .	Military Service.
Ditto, Eastern districts . . .	Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Young	Colonial Secretary, British Guiana.
Ditto, Civil, Lieutenant-Governor under General Cathcart.	Lieutenant-Governor, Darling	Lieutenant-Governor of St. Lucia.
Natal	Lieutenant-Governor, B. C. Pine, Esq.*	Queen's Advocate, and Administrator of the Government of Sierra Leone.
St. Helena	Governor, Sir Emerson Tennant	
Ditto, on the resignation of Sir E. Tennant	Governor, Colonel Browne*	Military Service.
Gold Coast	Governor, Major Hill	Military Service on the Coast of Africa, etc.
The Gambia	Governor, R. G. Macdonnell, Esq.* . .	Chief Justice of the Gambia.
South Australia	Lieutenant-Governor, Sir H. Young . .	Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern division of the Cape of Good Hope, etc.
Western Australia	Captain Fitzgerald, R.N.	Governor of the Gambia, Naval Service.

COLONY.	GOVERNOR OR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR APPOINTED.	PREVIOUS SERVICES OF OFFICER APPOINTED.
New Zealand:—		
New Munster	Lieutenant-Governor, E. J. Eyre, Esq. .	Magistrate in South Australia.
New Ulster	Major-General Pitt [appointed by the Governor in Chief]	
Ditto, on the death of Major-General Pitt	Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Wynyard.	
Mauritius	Governor, Sir George Anderson* . . .	Civil Service of the East India Company.
Ditto, [on transfer of Sir G. Anderson to Ceylon]	Governor, J. M. Higginson, Esq. . . .	Governor of Leeward Islands; Secretary to Lord Metcalfe in Canada; Civil Service of East India Company.
Ceylon	Viscount Torrington.	
Ceylon [as successor to Lord Torrington]	Governor, Sir G. Anderson, K.C.B. . .	Governor of Mauritius, etc.
Hongkong	Governor, Sir S. G. Bonham, K.C.B.* .	Governor of Singapore.
Labuan	Governor, Sir James Brooke, K.C.B. . .	Borneo, etc.
Falkland Islands	Governor, G. Rennie	Member of Parliament.
Vancouver's Island	Richard Blanshard, Esq.*	
Ditto	James Douglas, Esq.*	

B.

Copy of a Despatch from Earl Grey to Governor Sir C. A. Fitzroy.

"*Downing-street, November* 24, 1846.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform you that in consequence of the information recently received from New Zealand, Her Majesty's Servants have determined that an increase of the military force now in that Colony should be effected with the least possible delay. With that view, I have to instruct you to make immediate arrangements, in concert with the officer commanding the troops in New South Wales, for sending the whole of the disposable force now serving there to Wellington, with the utmost practicable despatch. It will, I calculate, be in your power, without danger, to send at least 900 men for this service, still retaining a small force at Sydney, which, under the present circumstances of New South Wales, is all that I consider indispensable. New South Wales may be regarded as being perfectly safe, for the present at least, from any attack from a foreign enemy; there are no native tribes capable of engaging in serious hostilities with the Colonists; and the Convict establishment is now reduced so low, while so great an increase has taken place in the numbers of the free population, that there is no longer the necessity which some years ago existed for maintaining a considerable military force to guard against the risk of an attempt to rise on the part of the convicts. Under these circumstances there is no part of Her Majesty's dominions in which there is less occasion for a large body of troops. Accordingly I find that, with the exception of those at Sydney, the

troops now serving in New South Wales are broken up into small detachments, and obviously performing duties more analogous to those of a police corps than of a part of Her Majesty's regular army. But these are duties which the heavy demands upon the services of the British army do not admit that it should be called upon any longer to undertake. Her Majesty's confidential Servants will consider it their duty to take care that the naval and military forces shall afford efficient protection from the attacks of any foreign enemy to so important a part of her dominions as New South Wales; but for the maintenance of internal order and tranquillity it is only reasonable that the Colonists should themselves be called upon to provide, by the formation of an adequate force of Police, or, if necessary, of militia. You will bring this subject under the immediate consideration of the Legislative Council; and under no circumstances will you consider yourself authorized to delay sending to New Zealand the force I have already named.

"I do not propose that for the present there should be any alteration in the amount of force in Van Diemen's Land, including Norfolk Island, or in Southern or Western Australia; nor is the arrangement for sending the 96th Regiment to India to be disturbed.

"I have, etc.

"(Signed) GREY."

Copy of a Despatch from Earl Grey to Governor Sir C. A. Fitzroy.

"*Downing-street, October* 19, 1847.

"SIR,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 100, of the 30th April last, with its enclosures, report-

ing the steps proposed to be taken by the Lieutenant-general commanding Her Majesty's troops in the Australian settlements, in obedience to my instructions to yourself of the 24th November last, for increasing the force in New Zealand, and by the reduction of that in New South Wales, and also pointing out the difficulty which exists in organizing an efficient police corps for the last-named colony.

"Although the force which you propose to retain in New South Wales is somewhat larger in amount than I have directed you to keep there, it is not my intention to withhold my approval from this arrangement, as one of a temporary nature. Viewed in this light, I see no sufficient reason for objecting to the arrangement, because the force which it provided for New Zealand will be raised nearly to the amount that was intended, while the restoration of tranquillity in that Colony has greatly diminished the want of troops which seemed to exist there, when I addressed to you my despatch above referred to. At the time the arrangements which you now report were adopted, there was a further reason for departing in some degree from those which had been directed, in consequence of the demands which still continued on the services of the troops in New South Wales to keep the convicts in subjection. This demand will however now cease, as orders have been given for breaking up the Convict establishment in that colony. Hence, and taking also into consideration the fact that this Colony is peculiarly exempt from the danger of being attacked by a foreign enemy, I am of opinion that the amount to which I last year directed that the garrison of New South Wales should be reduced will ultimately be amply sufficient; and I cannot accordingly hold out to you the expectation that so considerable a force as that to

which you refer will long continue to be kept there, merely for the purpose of supporting the police in the maintenance of order, this being a service for which the Colony must provide. You will do well, therefore, to bring under the consideration of the Legislative Council of your Government the propriety of taking early measures to increase the Police, so as to be prepared for the further reduction in the number of regular troops maintained in the Colony, which will probably be effected at a very early period. In taking any measures for this purpose, you will suggest to the Legislative Council that it deserves to be considered whether the difficulty which is described to exist in obtaining the services of an adequate number of effective policemen might not be met by causing men to be engaged for this purpose in England. I have no doubt that men well fitted for the duty might easily be engaged here, under a stipulation to serve for seven or ten years for reasonable wages; and in order to secure their performance of the agreement, some bonus should be held out to them on the completion of their term of service, while, on the other hand, in the event of their either leaving the service voluntarily or being dismissed for misconduct before the expiration of the stipulated period, they should be made subject to a penalty equal to the probable cost of their conveyance to the Colony, for the recovery of which stringent and summary powers should be given to the Governor by the Act authorizing the measure.

"I have, etc.

"(Signed) GREY."

Copy of a Despatch from Earl Grey to Governor Sir C. A. Fitzroy.

"*Downing-street, March* 4, 1848.

"SIR,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 166, of the 20th August last, with the copy therein enclosed of a report from the Commanding Royal Engineer in New South Wales, relating to the defences of Port Jackson.

"I cannot coincide in the opinion which you inform me exists in New South Wales, that the circumstance that Halifax and Quebec have been fortified at the cost of this country, affords a precedent for an application being made to Parliament for a vote for the protection of Sydney. The situation of those places, by which they are so much more exposed to attack than any of the Australian cities, affords a sufficient reason for the expense incurred for their defence. You will inform the Legislative Council that, while the right of the Australian Colonies to look for their fair share of that protection which it is object of Her Majesty's naval and military forces to extend to all parts of the British Empire is fully recognized by Her Majesty's Servants, they are of opinion that these Colonies have now made so much progress in wealth and population, that their inhabitants may reasonably be expected to bear also a part of the heavy charges which, with a view to that protection, are imposed upon their fellow-subjects residing in the United Kingdom; and that the smallest contribution towards these charges which ought now to be required from the Colonists is that of providing any additional means of local defence which may be required. I can therefore hold out no expectation whatever to the Legislative Council of New South

Wales, that Her Majesty's Government will be able to render any assistance towards the erection of the works which have been suggested at Sydney, unless they think proper to vote the requisite funds for their construction, and, on that condition, Her Majesty's Government will be happy to direct the Board of Ordnance to appoint officers to plan and execute the works.

With regard to the want of an artillery force in New South Wales, adverted to by the commanding Royal Engineer, I have to observe that, as a force of this description would only be required in the very improbable event of an attempted invasion, this danger might be met at a very moderate expense by forming in Sydney a volunteer artillery corps. If some of the principal gentlemen would exert themselves in forming such a corps, I should approve of your granting them commissions. It has been found in this country that without interfering materially with their ordinary avocations, the workmen employed in our dockyards can, by devoting to this object a few hours in the week, be trained so as to form a very effective force, both of artillery and of infantry. Similar corps might be formed at Sydney and Melbourne, composed of the labouring population of these towns, and officered by the inhabitants of higher station. The only expense for which the Legislative Council would be called upon to provide would be that of uniforms for the men, and pay during the hours of training. I send you herewith, in order to assist you in the consideration of the question whether a measure of the nature above averted to might not be adopted with advantage, a copy of the regulations respecting the dockyard battalions.

"I cannot conclude this despatch without expressing my confidence that the inhabitants of New South Wales have

too much of the spirit which has always distinguished the British nation, to be slow in coming forward to answer this invitation to organize themselves for their own defence.

"I have, etc.

"(Signed) GREY."

Extract of a Despatch from Earl Grey to Sir C. A. Fitzroy, dated Downing-street, June 1, 1848.

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 247, of the 18th December, with the copies therein enclosed, of a Report, with its annexures, of a Select Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, relative to the question as to the expediency of making some addition to the police force, in consequence of the reduction in the numbers of the troops stationed in that Colony.

"My Despatch, No. 11, Military, of the 4th March last, will have apprised you of the views which Her Majesty's Government entertain on the subject of the military defence of the Colony under your Government. I cannot however assent to the remarks which have been made by the Committee, that Her Majesty's Government have afforded protection to New Zealand by depriving New South Wales of the amount of protection to which it is fairly entitled. The force which was withdrawn from New South Wales was sent to New Zealand only to meet a pressing emergency, and Her Majesty's Government do not contemplate the permanent maintenance of a large regular force in the latter, any more than in the former Colony."

Copy of a Despatch from Earl Grey to Governor Sir C. A. Fitzroy.

"*Downing-street, November* 21, 1846.

"SIR,

"In my Despatch of the 24th of November 1846, No. 2, Military, I instructed you to make immediate arrangements, in concert with the officer commanding the troops in New South Wales, for sending the whole of the disposable force now serving there to Wellington, with the utmost practicable despatch. I calculated that it would be in your power, without danger, to send at least 900 men for this service, still retaining a small force at Sydney, which, under the circumstances of New South Wales at that time, was all that I considered indispensable. I was of opinion that New South Wales might be regarded as being perfectly safe from any attack from a foreign enemy, there being no native tribes capable of engaging in serious hostilities with the Colonists, and the Convict establishment having been reduced so low, while so great an increase has taken place in the numbers of the free population, that there was no longer the necessity which some years ago existed for maintaining a considerable military force to guard against the risk of an attempt to rise on the part of the convicts; and that, under these circumstances, there was no part of Her Majesty's dominions in which there was less occasion for a large body of troops. I found that, with the exception of those at Sydney, the troops serving in New South Wales were broken up into small detachments, and were obviously performing duties more analogous to those of a police corps than of a part of Her Majesty's regular army. I considered that these were duties which the heavy demands upon the services of the British army did not admit that it should

be called upon any longer to undertake. I informed you that Her Majesty's confidential servants would consider it their duty to take care that her naval and military forces should afford efficient protection from the attack of any foreign enemy to so important a part of her dominions as New South Wales, but that, for the maintenance of internal order and tranquillity, it was only reasonable that the Colonists should themselves be called upon to provide, by the formation of an adequate force of police, or, if necessary, of militia. I instructed you to bring this subject under the immediate consideration of the Legislative Council, and under no circumstance to consider yourself authorized to delay sending to New Zealand the force I had named.

"In my Despatch of the 4th March 1848, No. 11, Military, I instructed you to inform the Legislative Council of New South Wales, that while the right of the Australian Colonies to look for their fair share of that protection which it is the object of Her Majesty's naval and military forces to extend to all parts of the British Empire was fully recognized by Her Majesty's Servants, they were of opinion that these Colonies have made so much progress in wealth and population, that their inhabitants might reasonably be expected to bear also a part of the heavy charges which, with a view to that protection, are imposed upon their fellow-subjects residing in the United Kingdom, and that the smallest contribution towards these charges, which ought now to be required from the Colonists, was that of providing any additional means of local defence which might be required; and I suggested to you the propriety of inviting the principal gentlemen of the Colony to exert themselves in forming a volunteer artillery force.

"In my despatch of the 1st of June following, No. 16, Military, after noticing the Report of the Committee of

the Legislative Council of New South Wales, on the question how far it might be expedient to make some addition to the police, in consequence of the withdrawal of a portion of the troops, I explained that the force so withdrawn was sent to New Zealand to meet a pressing emergency; and I stated that Her Majesty's Government did not contemplate the permanent maintenance of a large regular force in that Colony, any more than in New South Wales.

"These communications will have fully prepared you for the reduction which Her Majesty's Government find it absolutely necessary to make of the military expenditure of the Australian Colonies, and I have accordingly to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government propose to transfer to the Colony of New South Wales the barracks and all military buildings and lands not immediately required for the preservation of stores, and that the charge of providing, maintaining, and repairing quarters for Her Majesty's troops in New South Wales must in future be undertaken by that Colony, and that the force to be retained there, will be reduced to a guard in the capital of the Colony, and in the town of Melbourne, which will be the capital of the proposed province of Victoria. If a greater amount of force is required, the Local Legislature must either make provision for raising a more considerable body of police than is now maintained, or some other description of local force, or else provide for the pay and allowances of an additional number of Her Majesty's regular army, in which case there would be no objection to allow additional regiments to serve there.

"In adopting the policy which I am thus called upon to prescribe to you for your future guidance, Her Majesty's Government are swayed by the consideration that New South Wales already possesses representative institutions,

that these will, it cannot be doubted, very speedily be extended to the other Australian Colonies, and that all the restrictions heretofore imposed on Colonial trade by Imperial Legislation have now been removed.

"It is my duty to apprise you that, if the Colonial Legislature should not think proper to make adequate provision for the maintenance of the necessary barracks in a manner in which the health and comfort of the troops will be as well secured as at present, it will be incumbent on Her Majesty's Government to remove them altogether.

"I have only further to acquaint you that, in giving to the Colony the barracks and other buildings which are to be transferred to it under the present instructions, it must be distinctly understood that Her Majesty's Government reserve to themselves the right of resuming possession, if at any future time it should in their judgement become necessary to do so; some nominal rent must therefore be reserved as a recognition of the title of the Crown to the property.

"You will take an early opportunity of reporting to me the arrangements which you shall make in pursuance of the present instruction.

"I have, etc.

"(Signed) GREY."

Copy of a Despatch from Earl Grey to Governor Sir C. A. Fitzroy.

"*Downing-street, June* 21, 1850.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, Military, No. 227, of the 7th November last, with the minute therein enclosed, of the deliberations of

the Executive Council of New South Wales, on the defenceless state of Port Jackson.

"Having attentively considered that minute, I am compelled to state that, so far from finding any reason for altering my previous view of the subject, I conceive that the facts which are set out in it are calculated to confirm that view. I have no doubt that prudence does prescribe the erection of works sufficient to protect the city of Sydney from a predatory attack; but the great value of the property it contains, and the wealth and prosperity evinced by the very large sums of money stated to be in the banks, afford proof no less of the ability of the Colony to meet the expense of providing such protection, than of the necessity of doing so.

"On this subject I have to remind you, that many of the great commercial cities of this Country are even now not less open than Sydney to predatory attacks, while some even of our arsenals and important military stations are as yet but very imperfectly protected; and it is altogether unreasonable to suppose that Parliament could be asked to vote money from the revenue of the United Kingdom for the defence of Sydney, while there is still a want of similar works at home, more especially as it must be borne in mind how much more lightly the inhabitants of New South Wales are taxed than those of Her Majesty's subjects who remain in this Country.

"Her Majesty's Servants are prepared to take measures for affording to the inhabitants of the Colonies their fair share of protection as a portion of the British Empire. Any attack made upon New South Wales, or any injury to any inhabitant of the Colony, would be resented in the same manner as an attack upon any other part of Her Majesty's dominions, or an injury to any other of Her

Majesty's subjects. But while we admit this as a rule to be observed, we consider that Her Majesty's subjects inhabiting the Colonies must take their fair share with their fellow-subjects at home in bearing the common burden of providing for the safety of the Empire as a whole, and that the smallest contribution which they can be expected to make towards this object is that of undertaking the local expenses which are required.

"It appears to have escaped the notice of yourself and the Executive Council, that in the earlier days of British colonization the Colonists were left to depend in a far greater degree than at present on their exertions. The inhabitants of what are now the United States of America were left, up to the time of the separation, with exceedingly little assistance from the Mother-country, to defend themselves from the numerous and warlike tribes of Indians by whom they were surrounded; nay, even during the war with France, a large part of the burden of maintaining the arduous contest with that powerful monarchy with its Indian allies, fell upon the British Amercian Provinces, and not upon the Mother-country. At the present time the Legislature of Jamaica has the entire charge of the fortifications of the island.

"New South Wales has now advanced so far in wealth and population, that, without further aid from the Mother-country than you will have learned from my recent despatches it is intended to afford, the Colony is well able to do what is necessary in order to provide for its own defence.

"At the same time Her Majesty's Government will be glad to afford such assistance as can be given with justice to the rest of Her Majesty's subjects, in carrying into effect such measures as the Colonial Legislature may consider expedient with a view to its defence. It is not possible to

comply with the request that the troops lately sent to New Zealand should be brought back, because measures have already been taken for the reduction of the force in that Colony; but if it should be considered desirable to execute any fortifications by military labour, Her Majesty's Government would willingly take steps for stationing an additional regiment in New South Wales, and also a detachment of sappers and miners, provided the Legislative Council would vote the amount required for their pay, including both their ordinary pay and the working pay to which they would be entitled. No charge would be made upon the Colony for the conveyance of the troops there, nor on account of the claims to pensions which the soldiers would acquire during their stay in the Colony; and further, whenever it became necessary to relieve a regiment so stationed in New South Wales, encouragement would be given to the soldiers belonging to it to take their discharge, thus effecting, without cost to the Colony, a useful addition, not only to its population, but to its means of defence, as men so discharged could, under the existing regulations, be called upon to serve against an enemy in case of need. Her Majesty's Government would also willingly take measures for increasing the number of enrolled pensioners in the Colony, if the Local Legislature would provide for the cost of conveying them there, and settling them in the situations where they might be most useful.

"You will take an early opportunity of communicating these observations to the Executive Council; and you will concert with that body the course which it may be expedient to pursue with the view of bringing the subject under the consideration of the Legislative Council.

"I have, etc.

"(Signed) GREY."

C.

Copy of a Despatch from Earl Grey to Governor Sir C. Grey.

"*Downing-street, February* 15, 1851.

"SIR,

"I have had the honour of receiving your Despatch, No. 94, of the 13th of December last, transmitting a memorial addressed to the Queen by the House of Assembly of Jamaica, expressing great alarm as to the difficulty of obtaining a supply of labour for the cultivation of the land, which was anticipated from the frightful mortality, principally among the labouring classes, which has been lately occasioned in the island by cholera, and praying that Her Majesty will order all captured Africans to be sent to Jamaica, and will adopt such other measures for the speedy and adequate supply of free emigrants from Africa, as Her Majesty's Ministers may deem most advisable. I have also received your subsequent Despatch of 16th December, No. 96, transmitting a similar memorial from the Legislative Council of Jamaica. I have not failed to lay both these memorials before Her Majesty, and Her Majesty has been pleased to receive them very graciously.

"In former despatches I have already expressed to you the great concern with which Her Majesty's Servants received intelligence of the very severe calamity by which Jamaica has been visited, and I directed you to adopt such measures as appeared to be immediately practicable for mitigating the sufferings it must have occasioned. But I concur with the two branches of the Colonial Legislature, in believing that the aggravation of the scarcity of labour

previously existing in Jamaica, by the loss of so large a number of labourers by the disease which has ravaged the island, is likely to prove one of the most serious consequences of the calamity, unless prompt measures are taken to avert the evil. I have always been of opinion that the labouring, no less than the proprietary classes in Jamaica, are deeply interested in the success of the great branches of industry which are carried on there, because, unless the production of its staple articles of export can be continued with advantage, the most civilized of the inhabitants of the island would have no inducement to reside in it, while their departure could not fail greatly to retard, if not to arrest, the progress of improvement in that part of the population which has so recently emerged from slavery and barbarism. Hence it is my most anxious wish to co-operate with the Colonial Legislature (to which the power and duty of adopting measures to meet the emergency mainly belong) in the endeavour to obviate the new difficulties with which the planters of Jamaica are now threatened, and by which the prospect of improvement in their condition, which I had hoped was beginning to appear, has been again obscured.

"I have thought it right, upon a subject so deeply affecting the welfare of Jamaica, to communicate with some of the gentlemen resident in this country who are most largely interested in the Colony, and I have derived much assistance from the information and suggestions I have received from them, in considering the measures it would be advisable to adopt. The most important of their suggestions are embodied in a memorandum addressed to the Speaker of the House of Assembly, which will be transmitted to Jamaica by the present mail, and of which, and of the letter in which it was communicated to me, I enclose copies

for your information. The suggestions of the gentlemen who have signed this memorandum are well deserving of the consideration of the Assembly: and in the hope of giving some further assistance to the Legislature in dealing with a subject of so much difficulty and urgency, I will proceed to state my views on these proposals, and on those of the Legislature, as well as on some others which have occurred to myself, or have been suggested to me from other quarters. In doing so, I may repeat observations already addressed to yourself, or to the governors of other Colonies in the West Indies, in despatches of which you are in possession; but, at the risk of such repetition, I think it will be convenient that I should state in a connected form the conclusions as to the means which should be resorted to for supplying the existing deficiency of labour in Jamaica, to which I have been led, by a close and anxious study of the working of the various plans, which during the last few years have been tried for a similar object in different Colonies.

"Though I am far from believing (for reasons which I shall have occasion to state in a subsequent part of this despatch) that immigration is the only practicable mode of increasing the available supply of labour in Jamaica, it is undoubtedly the first and most obvious resource which suggests itself. I do not doubt the expediency of adopting all practicable means for the introduction of a large number of immigrants of a suitable description into the Colony. With this view, it is the prayer of the Assembly in their memorial to Her Majesty, that all Negroes liberated from slavery by Her Majesty's cruizers should be sent to Jamaica, and that such measures as may be considered most advisable should be adopted for obtaining free emigrants from the coast of Africa. With regard to the Negroes found on board slave-ships cap-

tured by Her Majesty's cruizers, I have to observe that already all those who, without improper constraint, can be induced to go to the West India Colonies are sent to these Colonies free of expense to them by Her Majesty's Government; the number therefore to be sent to Jamaica could only be increased by depriving some of the other Colonies of the share of this advantage which they now enjoy; and considering that in these Colonies the want of labour is not less urgent than in Jamaica, though they have hitherto been spared from the disease which has visited that Island, this is a course which Her Majesty's Government could not with propriety adopt. With respect to the introduction of free emigrants from Africa, I concur with the Assembly in thinking that it would be highly beneficial if it could be accomplished; but you are aware that every endeavour which has hitherto been made to procure free emigrants from Africa has failed; and a report which has very recently reached me of the last attempt, which was made only a few months ago, to obtain emigrants from the Kroo Coast, is not encouraging as to the prospect which exists of greater success attending any further experiments of the same kind.

"In the memorandum transmitted to me by Mr. Macgregor it is suggested that an endeavour should be made to induce the free black inhabitants of some of the United States to settle in Jamaica. I have already, in my circular despatch of the 16th of October last, called your attention to the subject; and since that despatch was written I have obtained further information, which tends to confirm the opinion that there is a reasonable prospect that, if proper arrangements were adopted for the purpose, a large number of immigrants might be obtained from among the coloured and black inhabitants of the United States and of Canada. I need hardly observe that there is no immigration which

would be attended with so many advantages as that of the class of persons now adverted to. These people are in general trained labourers, accustomed to the usages of civilized society, and speaking the language of the Colony in which it is proposed that they should settle; it is obvious therefore how much more useful they would be than a much larger number of the rude inhabitants of Africa, or even than the natives of India or of China. The distance also from which these immigrants would have to be brought is inconsiderable, so that their introduction would not be attended with heavy expense, and there is reason to believe that their removal is earnestly desired by the communities of which they now form a part, and in which their presence in the actual state of society is a source of discomfort both to themselves and to others.

"The question then arises, What are the steps which it would be advisable to adopt in order to set on foot an extensive immigration of persons of this description from the continent of America? and after much consideration, I am led to believe that the best course which can be adopted is that of endeavouring to enlist private enterprise in the undertaking. I am of opinion that the exertions of individuals would be more likely to be successful than any public agency which could be made use of in obtaining immigrants well suited to the wants of the Colony, provided proper facilities were afforded to those who stand in need of labour to procure labourers for themselves wherever they can be found.

"But to encourage the efforts of individuals to obtain labour for themselves, it would be necessary to make some arrangement for securing to those who incur the trouble and expense of introducing labourers the advantage they have a right to expect from doing so. It is probably with

this view that the gentlemen who have signed the memorandum transmitted to me by Mr. Macgregor have suggested, that contracts for three years should be legalized in Jamaica, as they have been in some other Colonies. You have already been informed that if the Legislature of Jamaica should think fit to pass a law for this purpose, I should not consider it necessary to advise Her Majesty to withhold her sanction from it; but in repeating that I am prepared to abstain from objecting to such legislation, I must also repeat the expression of my strong opinion as to the extreme impolicy of encouraging contracts of this description. It is obvious that the only advantage which can result to the employers from having their labourers bound to them by contracts for three years, is that of obtaining the labour of those who are so bound on better terms than they could expect to get the same amount of labour from persons under no engagement. This advantage may be expected to arise more from the regularity with which labour can be commanded, than from the rate of wages to be paid to the persons so engaged; still the return for the expense incurred in the introduction of labourers is looked for in some form or other, from the right to their service for a certain time. No doubt at first sight the scheme appears sufficiently plausible; but the experiment has been repeatedly tried, and contracts of this kind have invariably disappointed those who have entered into them. More than twenty years ago, when the want of labour in New South Wales was exceedingly urgent, some gentlemen having property in that Colony engaged labourers in this Country, and sent them out under contracts to work for them for a term which had been agreed upon. One of the persons by whom this experiment was tried, and who had been most sanguine as to its success, described to me its utter failure; nor were the causes of

that failure difficult to understand. It is a truth too obvious to escape the most ordinary observation, that men in general can only be impelled to strenuous and persevering industry by some very powerful motive, while no such motive is brought to bear upon men engaged by long contracts to work at a fixed rate of wages, not higher at all events, if it is not lower, than that which, unfettered by such long engagements, they can command. If men so employed should labour carelessly and inefficiently, the employer has no adequate means of enforcing increased exertion, since to discharge them and cancel the contract, which, in a wholesome state of the relations between the employer and labourer, is a sufficient punishment, would be a reward and not a punishment to the labourer, who would thus be set free from an engagement which prevents him from making the most of his labour. No doubt the master whose labourer does not perform his contracted task, may carry him before the magistrate for punishment; but punishment so inflicted will not enforce industry that will be remunerative to the employer, and the labourer who is not subject to the stern compulsion of slavery, cannot be impelled to real exertion except by making it his interest to exert himself. In this Country, which for successful industry may justly claim to stand at the head of all the nations of the world, it is well known that the employers of labour find it expedient to bring self-interest to bear as directly as possible on the labourers, and that piece-work, whenever it is practicable, is greatly preferred to day labour; though, in the state of the demand and supply of labour which exists here, the power of discharging an idle labourer gives great authority to the master in enforcing exertion on the part of labourers engaged by the day. I must add, that the state of feeling created by the existence of slavery in the United States

would, I believe, render the most eligible emigrants who might be obtained there, peculiarly averse to entering into contracts for labour for three years.

"I have entered thus fully into the objections which, in my judgement, render it inexpedient to attempt to bind by long engagements immigrants who may be induced to resort to the British Colonies, because I entertain a strong conviction that such an attempt would be certain to lead to the failure of any plan of immigration of which it formed a part, while at the same time the legitimate object which is aimed at by such engagements is capable of being attained by other means which are not liable to the same objection. Nothing can be more reasonable than that those who incur the trouble and expense of introducing labourers into Colonies where labour is in great demand, and consequently bears a high value, should be repaid out of the earnings of the labourers so introduced; and I should strongly recommend to the Legislature of Jamaica that every facility which can possibly be given by law should be afforded for making and enforcing contracts founded on this principle. For this purpose, I am of opinion that a law should be passed, rendering valid in the Colony engagements entered into by immigrants before their embarkation, to repay by instalments such a sum of money as may be agreed upon between them and the persons by whom they are conveyed to the Colony. It would probably be convenient that such engagements should be in the form of simple notes of hand, promising to pay the sum agreed upon by certain weekly instalments, and that they should be witnessed by the master of the vessel in which the immigrants are embarked, and probably also by some public authority at the port of embarkation. If that port is a foreign one, the British consul

would probably be the best person to perform this duty. It would also, I think, be advisable to provide that when, on the arrival in Jamaica of a ship conveying immigrants embarked upon these terms, none of them should be permitted to land until they had been identified before the immigration agent, or some officer acting under him, as the persons who had signed or affixed their marks to the engagements previously witnessed by the master of the vessel, and a certificate to this effect should then be added to the engagement. Without some such provision as this, it would probably be difficult, after the departure of the vessel, to prove the signature of the immigrant, so as to enforce his promise to repay the cost of his passage. It would further be necessary to provide that every immigrant introduced under such a contract should be bound to give notice to the person with whom he had entered into it, or to the immigration agent, through the police, where he intended to reside, and that till his debt was discharged he should be liable to the penalties attached to fraud if he should, without previous notice to the same parties, go more than five or ten miles from the place where he had signified his intention to reside.

"Great care would be necessary in framing an enactment of this kind, so that on the one hand it might be effectual for its purpose, and on the other it might not press with undue severity on the immigrants, so as to discourage the immigration of the coloured people from the United States and from Canada. This class would not fail speedily to learn from the first immigrants what treatment they had experienced in the Colony; and nothing would be so impolitic as to allow this treatment to give just ground for complaint, since this would infallibly put a stop to an immigration, which is calculated to be so

highly beneficial to the Colony, and which, if properly encouraged, is, I believe, capable of being established on a very large scale. I have only to add, on this point, that the objection I have urged to long contracts for labour would not apply to contracts entered into with immigrants thus bound to repay the cost of their introduction into the Colony, to give them employment at the full wages of the Colony, but with a power reserved to the immigrant of cancelling the engagement at his pleasure, on giving a month's notice of his desire to do so. An assurance of employment on such terms might be necessary to induce the labourer to emigrate; and if the wages agreed upon were such as to make his being discharged a punishment instead of an advantage, a power might be reserved to the master, in the case of misconduct or idleness on the part of the emigrant, to cancel, before a magistrate, this part of the agreement, leaving in full force the engagement to repay the debt contracted by the immigrant.

"I am of opinion, that the passing of a simple law of this kind, by enabling proprietors to make arrangements for themselves, and to engage labourers wherever they might be found, whether on the continent of America, in some of the southern countries of Europe, or in China, would afford the best means of supplying the present deficiency of labour. But I should see no objection to combining a law of this kind with the adoption of the recommendation of the gentlemen whose memorandum I have sent you, by taking measures also for the introduction of labourers at the public expense. If this is done, it appears to me that it would be advisable to pass a law placing such immigrants under regulations similar to those which have been for some time in force with much success in Mauritius, and which have lately been adopted also in Trinidad

and Guiana. Or, what would perhaps be still simpler, the amount advanced from the Colonial Treasury to cover the cost of introducing these immigrants might be made a debt, recoverable from them in the same manner as similar debts would be recoverable by individuals under the law I have suggested. In this case the immigration agent, on behalf of the public, should make the advance, and should have the same power as a private creditor, of recovering the amount by instalments from the immigrant.

"But I have already observed, that I do not consider immigration as by any means the only source from which an increase in the supply of available labour may be obtained in Jamaica. Every account which has reached me of the actual state of society in the Island, tends to confirm my impression that the laws and arrangements now in force are not calculated to call forth the energies of the existing population, and that, if proper inducements to exertion were held out to them, they might, without being at all overtasked, be made to perform much more useful labour than at present. I am unwilling to touch upon topics calculated to revive the memory of controversies now happily forgotten; but at the same time, in order more clearly to explain my views as to the policy which ought now to be adopted, I hope I may without offence observe, that experience has confirmed the opinion which I expressed at the time, that it was a great and unfortunate error, when slavery was abolished, not to place the emancipated population under regulations calculated to impose upon them the necessity of greater exertion, and at the same time to provide for various objects necessary for their real welfare, but the importance of which it was not likely that they would be able to understand.

"It was not sufficiently understood at the time, that as

during slavery the greater part of the food consumed by the Negroes was derived from their provision-grounds, and the value of the supplies they received from their masters was trifling, compared to that of the labour they performed, the effect of suddenly releasing them from the obligation of performing gratuitous labour, was to leave them without any adequate motive to work for wages for more than a small portion of their time. By devoting a comparatively small part of the week to hired labour, and working as before in their provision-grounds, they were able to live much better than they had ever been accustomed to do, and this being the case, their conduct would have been unlike that of men in any other country of the world, if they had continued to exert themselves as formerly. In this Country, when an unexpected demand for some particular article occasions a sudden and great increase in the wages of any one description of workmen, it is generally found that, in the first instance, the men do not work as long and as hard as before, but take out a part of the greater value of their labour in the enjoyment of more leisure; in like manner, the Negroes of Jamaica naturally availed themselves of being suddenly made masters of the whole returns of their labour, to indulge largely in the luxury of idleness. They did so, indeed, to a less extent than might have been anticipated, as they adopted for a time habits of profuse expense, which could only be met by labour; but still the immediate and very great falling off in the produce of the Island, notwithstanding the economy of labour which was introduced when it became dearer, proves to how great an extent the amount of work done by them was diminished.

"But it certainly was not calculated to promote the real welfare of the emancipated population, that they should be allowed thus largely to indulge in idleness. To men, what-

ever may be their colour, their country, or their rank, idleness is ever a source of corruption, and I fear it is not to be doubted that the Negroes have been no exception to the rule, and that their advancement in civilization and morality, in the seventeen years which have nearly elapsed since slavery was abolished, have been by no means equal to that which might have been expected, had they been placed in circumstances which would have imposed upon them the necessity of greater industry; nor can it be doubted that they might have been called upon to submit to a greater amount of labour for objects of the utmost importance to themselves. Though their mere animal instincts led them to work sufficiently to obtain the means of gratifying their rude desires, and for the supply of their immediate physical wants, there are other wants of human nature no less real, which they were incapable of understanding, and for which therefore they made no provision. Education, religious instruction, and the procuring of medical advice for themselves and for their children, were unfortunately neglected. It is true they did subscribe what upon the whole amounted to considerable sums, for the support of chapels and schools; but the information which has been obtained on the state of education in the Island, proves beyond all doubt that, notwithstanding the assistance rendered by this country, the provision which has been made for education and for religious instruction, has fallen far short of the wants of the population. The deficiencies with regard to medical aid have not been less striking: during slavery medical aid had been furnished at the charge of the master, and the emancipated slaves did not understand the necessity of paying for such assistance for themselves and for their children; and to this, and to their bad management of their children during sickness, and

the consequently large proportion of deaths during infancy, it is, I believe, to be attributed that the population of Jamaica has not, since the abolition of slavery, increased with the rapidity which might have been expected, in a country where all the necessaries of life are in such extreme abundance.

"Hence it appears to me greatly to be regretted, that on the abolition of slavery the emancipated population were not required to make some small weekly payment for the the support of schools, of churches and chapels, and of public dispensaries and hospitals. Such institutions would have greatly contributed to their civilization and moral improvement; and the necessity of earning in each week the means of making the required payment, would have been a wholesome stimulus to industry, and would have supplied that motive for labour which was unhappily wanting. It is not, however, for the mere purpose of expressing regret for the past, that I have referred to the error which was in my judgement committed at the period of emancipation; my object is rather to point out, that if these views are just, it may not yet be too late to adopt, partially at least, the policy which ought then to have been acted upon. It is true that the difficulty of doing so is greatly increased. At that time the weekly payment which I have suggested might have been required from the emancipated slaves, would have been a substitute for the galling yoke of slavery, and it would therefore have been gladly and cheerfully submitted to, while at the present moment it would be felt as a new burden unjustly imposed on a particular class, and could not therefore be safely required in its simplest form. But it deserves to be considered by the Assembly, whether the present moment is not favourable to the adoption of measures founded upon the principle which I have endeavoured to explain.

"The recent calamity has naturally called public attention to the great deficiency which exists in the means of supplying medical assistance to the population of Jamaica; it seems therefore to be a good opportunity of reviving the consideration of a measure (suggested, but not adopted, on a former occasion) for establishing parochial hospitals and dispensaries. I am persuaded that such institutions would be found highly useful; and the expense of maintaining them, as they would be established mainly for the benefit of the labouring classes, might, with great propriety, be defrayed by a rate upon houses; the amount levied upon each house being made to depend upon the number of its habitual inmates. In public hospitals and dispensaries thus maintained, every rate-payer should be entitled to obtain gratuitous treatment in sickness for himself and his family, thus rendering the arrangement, in effect, equivalent to the establishment by law of medical clubs, such as those which exist in many English parishes, with the single but important difference, that in Jamaica it would be legally obligatory on every inhabitant of the parish to contribute to the institution. For this difference there would be ample ground in the fact that experience has too fatally proved, that the provision made voluntarily for the treatment of the sick in Jamaica is lamentably deficient. The benefit to be derived from such institutions as I have mentioned would be much increased, if the proposed hospitals were combined with the parochial workhouses, which would be put upon a proper footing for affording relief in cases of destitution, on the system now adopted in well-regulated workhouses in this Country. In Jamaica, where the demand for labour is so great, and a subsistence so easily obtained, it is scarcely possible that any but the sick or the infirm can suffer from want, if they are willing

to exert themselves for their own support, and real distress will generally be found to proceed from sickness. Still it will be impossible to enforce, with due strictness, laws against vagrancy, unless the means exist of offering relief in well-regulated workhouses to those who profess, however untruly, that they are driven to vagrancy by distress. Hence the obvious advantages of combining in one establishment the hospital and the workhouse, in which relief is given both to real and pretended distress.

"The want of schools has been no less clearly established than the deficiency of the existing arrangements for the medical treatment of the sick. This absence of any proper provision for the education of the rising generation is an evil of a very serious kind; and when it is considered that, by the existing constitution of Jamaica, the acquisition of political power is no less open to the negro than to the white man, and that in a few years the former race, from their great numerical superiority, can hardly fail to become possessed of a predominating influence, it cannot be doubted that to the future welfare of the community it is of the greatest importance that those who must possess this power should be prepared by education for its exercise. Effective schools ought therefore, in my judgement, to be established throughout the Island; and the expense of doing so is one which might, with the strictest justice, be provided for by such a rate upon houses as I have already described. I should not recommend that any attempt should be made to require the population to send their children to the schools to be thus established; it would be sufficient that all the inhabitants of the several parishes should be called upon to pay their share for the maintenance of effective schools, with the privilege of sending their children to them without any additional payment, if they thought

proper to do so. I need hardly observe that the system of maintaining schools by rates has existed in Massachusetts and some other states of the American Union since their first settlement, and has been attended with the best results. I am aware that, in establishing such a system in Jamaica, much difficulty would arise from religious differences; but this difficulty has been successfully contended with in Canada, where, without neglecting religious instruction, the children of parents of various persuasions are educated together; and when the need of some improved system of education is so urgent as it has been proved to be in Jamaica, I should hope that the members of all the different religious communities which exist in the Island would concur in not allowing their differences to stand in the way of that improvement. I cannot leave this part of the subject without adding, that I conceive education to be of great importance to the industrial prosperity of Jamaica, since agricultural improvement can hardly be carried on with spirit and effect except by means of instructed and intelligent labourers.

"In proposing that the expense of providing medical assistance and education for the population of Jamaica should be met by a rate imposed upon houses, according to the number of their inmates, I have had in view both the justice, considering the purposes for which the money is required, of this mode of levying it, and also the advantage to be derived from it by its being calculated to stimulate the labouring classes to industry. I have not, however, forgot the observations in your Despatches of the 20th and 21st of October 1848, on the discontent and irritation which you state to have been produced by the system of parochial assessments, pressing heavily, and in galling manner, on the occupiers of small tenements and holdings of land. I am well aware of the great danger which might result from

rousing feelings of this kind in an ignorant and excitable population; they ought not therefore to be subjected to a new burden of the kind I have suggested, without taking care that it is both light in amount, and collected in the manner least onerous to those by whom it is paid, and also that the utmost pains should be taken in explaining that this payment is made for objects in which they are deeply interested. Hence the penalties for default of payment should be as moderate as possible, not exceeding two days of forced labour for every shilling left unpaid; and the magistrates and special Justices should be instructed carefully to explain to the people the advantages they would receive in return for the payment demanded from them before the period fixed for its collection. It would likewise be most desirable that while this new demand is made upon the population, they should at the same time be relieved, if possible, from some of the most objectionable of the present taxes. I would more especially recommend a revision of the duties upon ordinary articles of food, such as flour, butter, and cheese. The duties upon these and upon other articles of a similar kind, I should consider it highly expedient to abolish or to reduce, if the state of the revenue should render it practicable to do so. It is I think impossible to doubt that duties of this kind must have a tendency very injurious to the great staple branches of Colonial industry. While the sugar and coffee planters are suffering so much from a deficiency of labour, it is obvious that in levying the revenue required for the public service the utmost pains should be taken to avoid every tax which has a tendency to divert labour from these occupations. But taxes upon imported provisions have this tendency in the highest degree; by raising the price of such provisions they must necessarily increase the consumption of provi-

sions grown in the Colony, and therefore the demand for the produce raised by the Negro in his own ground, thus artificially increasing the profit to be derived from this description of labour, and at the same time making an equally artificial reduction in the amount of food which can be purchased by the wages earned in the cane-field. Thus these duties are directly calculated to discourage the labourer from working for hire, and to lead him to prefer working in his own provision-ground. It is hardly necessary to observe, that in the actual state of society in Jamaica, it would be desirable that whatever revenue is required should be raised by taxes having precisely the opposite effect.

"For these reasons I consider it to be of great importance that the duties in question should be reduced, if they cannot be entirely abolished. I am not ignorant that the present state of the Colonial finances opposes considerable difficulty in the way of the reduction of any taxes. But from the information contained in your Despatches of the 9th and 22nd of December 1849, I am led to believe that by a more exact collection of existing taxes, and particularly the land-tax, and by reverting to the former practice of the Colony, and leaving certain local charges to be defrayed by parochial instead of by general taxes, the deficiency which would be occasioned by repealing the duties to which I have pointed out the objections, would be more than covered. I must add, that on other grounds I conceive it to be of the utmost importance that both these modes of replenishing the Colonial treasury should be resorted to. Nothing is so prejudicial to the public interest as to allow taxes which are not repealed to be negligently and imperfectly collected, since this affords a direct encouragement to fraud, and a premium to dishonesty. The

land-tax also is, of all the public taxes in Jamaica, that to which there is the least objection, as its tendency must be rather favourable than the reverse to industry, in a Colony in which the great difficulty with which the Planters have to contend, is that arising from the too easy terms on which the use of land can be obtained by the labouring population.

"I am no less persuaded of the impolicy of diminishing the parochial burdens at the expense of the general revenue: parochial taxation properly imposed is calculated, for the reasons I have already stated, to act as a stimulus to industry; whereas import duties, unless kept within the most moderate limits, must tend to discourage the formation of a taste among the people for the comforts and luxuries of civilized life, and such a taste could not be developed without creating new and powerful motives for exertion. I have reason to believe, indeed, that the existing mode of levying parochial taxes requires to be revised; it seems objectionable that they should be charged upon stock and upon wheels, a mode of assessment which might fall most heavily upon the most active and enterprising cultivators. Whether rates should be levied, as in this country, according to the value of the property assessed, or rather, as you have formerly suggested, according to the extent of land occupied by the ratepayers, is a question on which I have not the means of forming a judgement. The principle of apportioning the charge according to the value of the property on which it is imposed would seem to be the fairest; but on the other hand, I can easily understand that to make a valuation which shall not only be really correct, but which shall satisfy those concerned that it is so, may in Jamaica be a matter of insuperable difficulty; even in this country it is not very easily accomplished. Perhaps a middle course

might be the best, and land might be assessed at different rates, according to the nature of the cultivation, one rate per acre being imposed on all pasture land, another on land growing canes, and another on provision grounds, taking as the basis of the calculation the average value of the return derived from the land by those several modes of occupation.

"I am persuaded that the various measures I have suggested would tend, by their combined effect, to stimulate the industry of the working classes in Jamaica, and would greatly contribute to increase the advantage which may be derived from an addition to the number of labourers by immigration. But it is obvious that this is a policy of which the success must entirely depend upon a firm and equal administration of the law, and upon the efficient maintenance of order and obedience to authority throughout the Colony. It is not to be expected that the Negro population would willingly submit to the new burdens imposed upon them, if they should perceive that the land tax and other charges falling upon the higher classes of society were negligently collected and imperfectly paid, and if they were not satisfied that the produce of the rates were properly applied to their professed objects. Nor would it be possible to enforce a rate upon houses, if any part of the population were allowed to wander about without any recognized place of abode, thus escaping the charge which would fall upon the settled and industrious inhabitants of the various parishes. I would therefore most strongly recommend to the Legislature to adopt such regulations, as may ensure the punctual and exact collection of the rates and taxes, both general and parochial, and may subject the collectors to an effective responsibility for the due performance of their duty. The constitution of vestries and other bodies to which the

expenditure of parochial and other local rates is entrusted should be considered, and if necessary improved in such a manner as to give the lower class of ratepayers some share in the management of their own affairs, and the proceedings of these local bodies should be subjected to the supervision of some superior authority, and their accounts to an independent audit. Lastly, if the existing law against vagrancy is insufficient to check that offence, its faults should be corrected, and it should be considered whether the reductions which have been made in the police have not been carried too far, bearing in mind that there can be no such short-sighted and injudicious economy as that, which would refuse the necessary outlay for maintaining the police in a state of complete efficiency, for the preservation of order and the enforcement of the law, without which industry can never flourish.

"In conclusion, I have to desire that you will lay before the Assembly a copy of this despatch, with my assurance that in making the various suggestions which I have now offered for their consideration, it is far from my wish to dictate to them what measures to adopt, on which it is their duty and their right to determine according to their own judgement. My only object has been to afford them any assistance in my power in considering what are the legislative measures best calculated to promote the welfare of all classes of the inhabitants of Jamaica, and to enable them to turn to account the great natural advantages of this magnificent island. The present appears to be an important crisis in the history of the colony, and its future prosperity will mainly depend upon the judgement with which the measures now to be taken are adapted to its real wants. It is incumbent therefore upon the Legislature to which the destinies of Jamaica are mainly entrusted, well

and maturely to consider the course which should now be adopted; and I have thought it my duty to lay before them somewhat fully my own views as to the policy which ought to be pursued, because these views are founded on an experience now extending over a very considerable number of years, and on a careful study of the state of society both in Jamaica and in other colonies from a period antecedent to the abolition of slavery, with a close observation of the various changes which that measure and others consequent upon it have produced. I entertain a firm conviction that whatever errors I may have fallen into as to the practical measures I have suggested, the principles on which these suggestions rest are sound, and I therefore confidently recommend them to the consideration of the Assembly, with the earnest desire that that body, with the assistance of the other branches of the Legislature, may succeed in adopting such measures as may enable Jamaica to rise from her present difficulties to that prosperity to which I believe she is capable of attaining.

"I have, etc.

"(Signed) GREY."

D.

SUGAR.

Quantities Imported.

	Produce of British Possessions.				Total Produce of British Possessions.	Foreign Produce.	Aggregate Importations.
	Years ending July 5.	West Indies.	Mauritius.	East Indies.			
		cwt.	*cwt.*	*cwt.*	*cwt.*	*cwt.*	*cwt.*
Aggregate of Sugar and Melasses— (Melasses being converted into Sugar at the rate of 3 lb. of Melasses to 1 lb. of Sugar).	1842.....	2,289,005	722,458	1,031,359	4,042,822	581,156	4,623,978
	1843.....	2,677,816	552,070	1,184,466	4,414,352	757,769	5,172,121
	1844.....	2,663,779	478,618	835,914	3,978,311	884,609	4,862,920
	1845.....	3,040,492	699,631	1,263,137	5,003,260	978,162	5,981,422
	1846.....	2,842,555	801,913	1,531,418	5,175,886	1,307,635	6,483,521
	1847.....	2,530,333	1,131,108	1,349,639	5,011,080	1,952,555	6,963,635
	1848.....	3,151,031	881,915	1,432,563	5,465,509	2,087,387	7,552,896
	1849.....	3,086,357	935,935	1,330,294	5,352,586	2,136,505	7,489,091
	1850.....	3,222,869	1,028,440	1,549,733	5,801,042	2,033,990	7,835,032
	1851.....	2,661,513	1,003,033	1,358,228	5,022,774	2,658,179	7,680,953
	1852.....	3,638,388	1,071,929	1,605,440	6,315,757	1,807,032	8,122,789

SUGAR.

Quantities Entered for Home Consumption.

	Produce of British Possessions.				Total Produce of British Possessions.	Foreign Produce.	Aggregate of the Entries for Home Consumption.
	Years ending July 5.	West Indies.	Mauritius.	East Indies.			
		cwt.	*cwt.*	*cwt.*	*cwt.*	*cwt.*	*cwt.*
Aggregate of	1842.....	2,476,782	826,629	1,022,374	4,325,785	2,189	4,327,974
Sugar and	1843.....	2,548,692	521,873	1,019,028	4,089,593	498	4,090,091
Melasses—	1844.....	2,721,509	487,559	935,976	4,145,044	93	4,145,137
(Melasses	1845.....	2,890,122	722,404	1,236,534	4,849,060	34,584	4,883,644
being con-	1846.....	2,876,548	812,817	1,296,427	4,985,792	60,064	5,045,856
verted into	1847.....	2,369,485	906,110	1,447,637	4,723,232	1,256,421	5,979,653
Sugar at the	1848.....	2,936,181	905,230	1,161,907	5,003,318	865,752	5,869,070
rate of 3 lb.	1849.....	2,997,141	881,187	1,355,401	5,233,729	1,021,065	6,254,794
of Melasses	1850.....	3,105,115	1,094,469	1,370,877	5,570,461	752,027	6,322,488
to 1 lb. of	1851.....	2,698,098	963,822	1,381,952	5,043,872	1,522,405	6,566,277
Sugar).	1852.....	3,565,714	1,036,705	1,512,791	6,115,210	1,540,308	7,655,518

Account of Duty Received in the United Kingdom on Sugar and Melasses.

Years ending July 5.	Aggregate Receipts of Duty on Sugar and Melasses.		
	Of British Possessions.	Foreign.	Total.
	£.	£.	£.
1842.....	5,476,987	8,026	5,485,013
1843.....	5,176,631	1,665	5,178,296
1844.....	5,253,687	319	5,254,006
1845.....	4,955,221	40,777	4,995,998
1846.....	3,514,354	70,335	3,584,689
1847.....	3,326,947	1,336,615	4,663,562
1848.....	3,522,288	877,378	4,399,666
1849.....	3,430,527	993,407	4,423,934
1850.....	3,371,976	699,969	4,071,945
1851.....	2,793,894	1,343,624	4,137,518
1852.....	3,077,561	1,276,042	4,353,603

Parliamentary Paper 296, 1852. Ibid. 97, 1852.

E.

"To his Excellency James Macaulay Higginson, Esquire, C. B., Governor of the Island of Mauritius and its Dependencies, etc.

"We, the undersigned inhabitants of Flacq, beg leave respectfully to approach your Excellency, to offer a heart-felt welcome upon the occasion of this your first visit to our District.

"It is many years since the inhabitants of the country

Districts of the Island, have enjoyed the satisfaction of receiving among them the representative of their Sovereign; we therefore feel the more grateful to your Excellency for having now revived the practice of Sir Robert Farquhar and Sir Lowry Cole, your former much respected predecessors, and afforded us the opportunity of expressing our feeling of loyalty and attachment to our most gracious Queen, and of freely communicating to you personally our wants and wishes, unembarrassed by the shackles of official formality, which are too apt to give rise to misunderstanding and distrust.

"We hail this as the dawn of a new era of confidence and of frankness in the intercourse between the Mauritians and their Governor; and if the Colonists find reason to be grateful for the benefits that never fail to attend a wise Administration, your Excellency will, on the other hand, enjoy the satisfaction and the glory inseparable from the successful exercise of your exalted functions. To attain this result one of the most important Preliminaries is, to be well acquainted with the field of action and with the population to be dealt with; and we flatter ourselves that when your Excellency comes to know us well, you will, as we have reason to think was the case with your late honourable Predecessor, acknowledge that no body of people can be more easy of government than the Colonists of Mauritius.

"Sensitively alive perhaps to the appearance of slight, and prompt to resent injustice and calumny, they are easily won by the smallest approach to kindness, and are ever ready to bless the hand extended for their relief, and the heart that sympathizes with their sorrows, or interests itself in their welfare. Slow to claim even their just rights, you will have observed that when forced to make

known their wants, their endeavour has always been to afford information to, but never in any way to obstruct the measures of those in authority.

"Animated with such feelings, the inhabitants of Flacq seize the occasion of your presence among us to bring to your Excellency's notice some observations calculated to assist your inquiries, and to make you acquainted with the more immediate wants of the District.

"The question of Municipal Institutions has so recently engaged your Excellency's attention, that it is unnecessary for us now to do more than recall it to your recollection. We may say the same with respect to establishments for charitable and educational purposes, with which we feel sure you will find the District sufficiently enlightened to be entrusted; the cordiality and union which you will find reigning among all classes of its inhabitants afford a powerful pledge for the punctual exercise of such rights.

"The mere statement of the fact that our District contains twenty thousand inhabitants, and extends over a surface of upwards of a hundred square miles, is enough to satisfy your Excellency of the utter insufficiency of the police guard allotted to it, amounting to only thirteen or fourteen men, notwithstanding all the zeal and activity of the single officer placed in charge of it.

"It will be sufficient also to mention the public roads, of which, extensive as is the district, only the main one receives the regular attention of the civil engineer; the others are left to the care of the adjacent proprietors, and absorb considerable sums of money, as well for the repairs to make them passable, as for making good the damage and destruction of carriages, carts, and draught animals, caused by the dilapidated state of the public ways. For want of practicable means of communication many fertile

tracts of land lie unproductive, as under present circumstances they are utterly inaccessible.

"The Ordinance respecting the establishment of a District Magistracy has probably already received the approbation of Her Majesty, and may be expected ere long to be put in execution. Our confidence in your Excellency's wisdom and discernment relieves us from any apprehensions on the subject of the selection of persons fully qualified for such responsible and important offices; but we beg respectfully to suggest the desirableness of the choice of some central spot for the new Magistrate's Court, where also might be fixed the offices of the other public servants of the District.

"There also it is essential to establish a prison, with somewhat more effectual arrangements for the security and health of the prisoners than are to be found in the building at present temporarily used for that purpose.

"In approaching the subject of Indian immigration—perhaps the most important and vital of all to the inhabitants of this Colony—we hasten to express our grateful sense of the efforts your Excellency has unceasingly made for the promotion of this great object. Your endeavours, successful we would fain hope, to place this question in its true light before the Home and the Indian Governments,—your readiness to sanction the introduction of an increased number of labourers, when called for by the wants of the Colony,—your promptitude in taking measures to alleviate the mischief caused by the culpable betrayal of his duties (to use no stronger expression) by our agent at Calcutta, and by the surreptitious competition in the Madras territory of a foreign Colony,—and the wise instructions you have issued to the stipendiary magistrates with a view to ensure the most effective labour

with the least possible employment of coercion, demand our warmest acknowledgments.

"Your Excellency has expressed your opinion, that when an immigrant has violated his contract of service by inexcusable desertions, instead of resorting to the unprofitable penalty of imprisonment, it is preferable to compel him, after the expiration of his contract, to replace the labour he has illegally withheld from his master. We entirely concur with your Excellency on this point; but we beg leave to suggest that it would be furthermore necessary, so as to allow no misconstruction to go abroad, as to the true intent of your instructions, to inform the stipendiary magistrates that the penalty of imprisonment is not to be absolutely refrained from, although it be deemed not to produce as wholesome an effect in the above case as the obligation of completing the full extent of labour due. Recourse to measures of compulsion certainly is a painful necessity; but since it is a necessity recognized inseparable from the administration of labour, imprisonment as a penalty should not be entirely suppressed, and would be rightly resorted to in such an instance, as when the delinquent refuses to return to his master to replace the time of his desertions. This course, however, of requiring the immigrant to complete the full time of his contract, and perform the labour he owes to its full extent, as your Excellency has wisely advised, we consider to be the most desirable and salutary, whenever the employer has not indemnified himself according to the law.

"And we venture also to suggest that it be part of the instructions to stipendiary magistrates to encourage as much possible engagements for three years. No measure is better calculated than this, for creating among the immigrants

settled and orderly habits, and to lead ultimately to the establishment of a resident peasantry. There is little variety in the different districts and estates, either in the labour or in the wages and other allowances offered to the immigrants, and it cannot be doubted that it would be greatly to the advantage of these people to be spared the loss of time, and the interruption of their habits and occupations, attendant on annual changes of their employers and residences. If the Indians are to be regarded as so far in a state of pupilage as to be interdicted from forming contracts without the sanction of a magistrate acting as their guardian and protector, that officer, it seems to us, should be empowered to advise, and as much as in him lies to encourage, a system so decidedly advantageous to them. Your Excellency's recommendation to this effect will, we are persuaded be attended with very beneficial results.

"We beg your Excellency not to consider these remarks as reflecting even in the most distant manner on the conduct of the public functionaries of our District, the uprightness of whose intentions it is far from our meaning to impeach; but we consider it to be our duty, even towards them, to draw your Excellency's attention to measures that require to be explained and understood ere they can effect all the beneficial results they are intended for.

"These observations, we trust, will be favourably received by your Excellency, although it needed not our voice to awaken you to the extreme importance of the question of Immigration. A country whose wealth, nay, whose very existence, depends upon agriculture, would indeed be lost, if left without a labouring population. We are now, and for the last five years have been, engaged in a struggle with slave-owning and slave-trading Colonies,

and, with the blessing of Providence, may yet be victorious in the strife; but for this we must have labourers, and that at a moderate expense. At present, with an insufficiency for the land actually under cultivation, and surrounded with extensive tracts of country calling only for the fertilizing hand of man, how can we hope to obtain such sufficiency of labour? It is for your Excellency to restore us that calm and security without which our best efforts must be unsuccessful.

"Your Excellency, as did your worthy predecessor, has rendered justice to the humanity with which our labourers are treated, and we hope that the more you see of us the more you will be confirmed in this opinion, and convinced of our earnest desire still further to ameliorate the lot of those so indispensably necessary to our own welfare. Continue then to represent the truth; and when the clouds of error and prejudice are dispelled, as they must be by such testimony as your Excellency's, the governments both of the metropolis and of India will no longer hesitate to throw open to their subjects free access to those moral and physical advantages so liberally offered to India by this Colony.

"We now conclude; and if we do not apologize for the length of our Address, it is because we are well assured of your Excellency's willingness and desire to learn all that interests us. It only remains for us to repeat our hearty welcome, and to assure you that we are, with great respect, your Excellency's most obedient and humble servants.

"(Here follow the signatures.)"

His Excellency's Reply.

"I request, Gentlemen, that you will accept my warmest thanks for this cordial and generous welcome which you have given me to Flacq.

"My visit has been deferred longer than I had intended; it completes my tour of the rural districts, from which I have derived much personal gratification, and the most favourable impressions of the loyalty and good-feeling that animate all classes of the community.

"My object has been to see and to judge for myself; to ascertain the real wants and wishes of the inhabitants, in order that the measures of the Government may harmonize with the voice of the people. The expression of your opinions, and the information which you have afforded me on the several important topics of local interest noticed in your Address, will conduce to this end; and you may rest assured that your suggestions shall have my anxious and attentive consideration.

"It is very gratifying to me to learn, that the measures which have been adopted to secure a more adequate and regular supply of labour have met with your approval. In the absence of a native population to cultivate our soil, our attention should be directed, not only to obtaining a sufficiency of labour for our immediate wants, but also to the more valuable and permanent benefits to be gained by inducing the natives of India, who now come here, and carry their earnings back after a few years, to settle in the Colony; and from my own experience of both countries, I can affirm that by adopting this as their future home, they will, with their own common industry, improve their social and physical condition unmeasurably beyond what they can ever hope to attain in their own.

"I bear willing testimony to the kind and just treatment received by the immigrants at the hands of their employers, of which I have reason to believe they are themselves fully sensible.

"They are a tractable and well-disposed people; and the satisfaction with their conduct which I have heard generally expressed by the Planters, implies that they are mutually well-pleased with each other. I know no country in the world in which the position of the agricultural labourer is superior to that of the Indian immigrant here, and very few indeed in which the same degree of comfort and independence is enjoyed by him.

"The erroneous impressions of the character of our immigration system, that previously existed both in India and in Europe, have, I trust, been removed, and the unexceptionable footing on which it now stands, promises greater permanence and security for those advantages which are unquestionably conferred on the inhabitants of both countries, by the labour and capital that are interchanged.

"The crisis of the severe struggle in which you have been engaged has, I confidently believe, been overcome, and that you will now reap the fruits of that energy, industry, and enterprise which enabled you to maintain it; and having accepted the new conditions imposed upon agriculture both here and in the Mother-country, you are wisely seeking, in more skilful husbandry and improved processes of manufacture, compensation for that protection which has, I believe, irrevocably passed away.

"Favoured by a soil of surpassing fertility, and a most genial climate, as well as by her geographical position, Mauritius, with hands equal to her resources for productively employing them, and with judgement and economy

in the disposition of their labour, must move onward, and need not fear competition with other producers, whether slave or free.

"I esteem it no ordinary privilege to be permitted to watch over your interests at a period so full of promise; and I highly value the assurance of your approbation and appreciation of my efforts to promote your welfare which this Address conveys to me.

"(Signed) J. M. Higginson."

F.

PORT OF GEORGETOWN, DEMERARY.

An Account of the Quantity of Produce exported from the Colony in the Year 1851 as compared with that of the Year 1850.

	Sugar.	Rum.	Molasses.	Coffee.
1851.	*hhds.*	*punch.*	*casks.*	*lbs.*
Exported from this port, the production of Demerary and Essequibo .	34,875	14,922	6,186¾	2,868
Exported from this port, the production of Berbice	3,196	674	2,719	180
Total	38,071	15,596	8,905¾	3,048
Exported from the port of New Amsterdam, Berbice, the production of Berbice . . .	4,963	252	625	150
Total Exports for Year .	43,034	15,848	9,530¾	3,198
1850.				
Exported from this port, the production of Demerary and Essequibo .	30,330	11,803	7,932	20,286
Exported from this port, the production of Berbice	2,890½	999	2,724	4,500
Total	33,220	15,802	10,656	24,786
Exported from the port of New Amsterdam, Berbice, the production of Berbice . . .	4,131	139	1,151	30
Total Exports for Year .	37,351½	15,941	11,807	25,086
Increase . . .	5,682½	...	...	...
Decrease . . .		93	2,276¼	21,888

Custom-house, Demerary,
9th January, 1852.

(Signed) C. BAGOT, Comptroller.

PORT OF GEORGETOWN, DEMERARY.

An Account of the Quantity of Produce exported from this Colony, in the Quarter ended 5th January, 1852, as compared with the corresponding Quarter of 1850.

	Sugar.	Rum.	Molasses	Coffee.
1851.	*hhds.*	*punch.*	*casks.*	*lbs.*
Exported from this port, the production of Demerary and Essequibo	16,275	6,146	3,189½	450
Exported from this port, the production of Berbice	1,833	405	1,397	...
Total	18,108	6,551	4,586½	450
Exported from the port of New Amsterdam, Berbice, produce of Berbice	1,890	160	206	150
Total Exports for quarter	19,998	6,711	4,792½	600
1850.				
Exported from this port, the production of Demerary and Essequibo	13,251	5,612	3,965	4,086
Exported from this port, the production of Berbice	1,259	474	1,165	...
Total	14,510	6,086	5,130	4,086
Exported from the port of New Amsterdam, Berbice, produce of Berbice	1,913	54	607	...
Total Exports for quarter	16,423	6,140	5,737	4,086
Increase	3,575	571	...	...
Decrease			944½	3,486

Custom-house, Demerary,
9th January, 1852.

(Signed) C. BAGOT, Comptroller.

G.

Extracts from the Representation and Petition from the House of Assembly of Jamaica to the Prince Regent, dated December 10, 1811.

"The ruin of the original possessors has been gradually completed. Estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the Island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident.

"In the discharge of a most painful duty your Petitioners have laid before your Royal Highness the calamitous situation of themselves and their constituents. It is not to be concealed, and cannot be denied, that a crisis has at length arrived when nothing but the immediate and powerful interposition of the Supreme Authority of the Empire can prevent the utter destruction of a part, not altogether unworthy of attention from its former value.

"Exactions, debasement, and privations have been long and patiently endured by the proprietors of the soil; a large proportion of them now see approaching the lowest state of human misery, absolute want to their families, the horrors of a gaol to themselves."

Extract from the 'History of the West Indies,' by Bryan Edwards. (Vol. II., book 4, ch. 1, p. 15, 4to edit. 1794.)

"This anticipation of imaginary wealth is so prevalent as to become justly ridiculous; yet I am inclined to think it is a propensity that exists independent of the climate and atmosphere, and that it arises principally from the peculiar situation of the West Indian proprietors as land-

holders. Not having, like the proprietors of landed estates in Great Britain, frequent opportunities of letting their plantations to substantial tenants, they are, for the most part, compelled to become practical farmers on their own lands, of which the returns are in the highest degree fluctuating and uncertain. Under these circumstances a West Indian property is a species of lottery. As such it gives birth to a spirit of adventure and enterprise, and awakens extravagant hopes and expectations; too frequently terminating in perplexity and disappointment."

Extracts from a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons on the West Indies in 1807.

"From their testimony it appears that since the year 1799 there has taken place a progressive deterioration in the situation of the Planters, resulting from a progressive diminution of the price of sugar, although, at the same time, the duty and all the expenses attending the cultivation have been increasing, till at length the depression of the market has become such that the prices obtained for the last year's crop will not pay the expense of cultivation, except upon estates on a very great scale, making sugar of a very superior quality, or enjoying other extraordinary advantages. Calculations have been laid before your Committee, from the accounts of estates both in Jamaica and the other islands, by which it appears that the British Supplies and Island Expenses amount to 20*s.* 10*d.* in the former, and to 19*s.* 6*d.* in the latter, on the cwt. of sugar, after accounting and giving credit for the amount received for the sale of rum. As these calculations are formed upon an average of years, and upon estates of the ordinary scale, and in no respects unusually circumstanced, it ap-

pears to your Committee, that these sums per cwt. of sugar may be taken as the average expense of cultivation, independent of interest upon the capital; and your Committee are confirmed in this opinion by finding a similar calculation in the Report made by the Sugar Distillery Committee in the last Parliament. To this must be added the expense of from 15*s.* 6*d.* to 16*s.* per cwt. necessarily incurred for freight, insurance, and other mercantile charges, between the shipping the goods in the Colonies, and their being offered to market in this kingdom, forming together an amount of from 35*s.* to 36*s.*, which appears, upon this evidence, to be the absolute cost to the planter per hundredweight of sugar, before any return of capital can attach. Upon a reference to the average prices, published in the 'Gazette' for the last eight months, which vary from 36*s.* to 31*s.*, giving a mean price of 33*s.* 6*d.*, it appears evident that the planters must have cultivated their estates at a loss.

"The interest which has been stated to your Committee as what should be the fair profit upon a capital of such a nature as that of a sugar estate, consisting not merely of land and negroes, but of buildings of great extent and cost, necessary for the carrying on of such a manufacture, and subject to various and peculiar risks and vicissitudes, is not less than ten per cent.

"During the period of prosperity, previous to 1800, it is stated, that in general the profits did not exceed that sum; and that from that period they have gradually diminished to two and a half and one and a half per cent., till, at the present moment, there is no return of interest whatever.

* * * * * *

"Your Committee having briefly stated the distressed situation of the West Indian Planter,—the causes which have gradually produced his distress, which are beyond his

reach to remedy, and which must continue to operate with increased effect,—and having stated such measures of relief as have been suggested to them, and such as, from the best sources of information, appear most adequate to the end in view,—have only to add, that if those remedies are liable to objections and difficulties, there is, on the other hand, the strongest concurrent testimony and proof, that unless some speedy and efficient measures of relief are adopted, the ruin of a great number of the Planters, and of persons in this country holding annuities, and otherwise dependent upon those properties for their income, must inevitably very soon take place, which must be followed by the loss of a vast capital advanced on securities in those countries, and by the most fatal injury to the commercial, maritime, and financial interests of Great Britain."

Extracts from the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, "On the Commercial State of the West Indies," 1832.

"The case submitted to them in these Papers is one of severe distress, affecting the proprietors of the soil.

"Your Committee have received abundant evidence of the distress which is said to have existed, in a considerable degree, for ten or twelve years past, and to have been greatly aggravated within the last three or four.

"In concluding their considerations of the causes of the depressed state of the West India Colonists, your Committee have not forgotten that their depression has existed in former times, and at periods anterior to the abolition of the Slave-trade. To one of these periods their attention has been specially called by the reference of the report of the Committee of 1807, whence it appears that during the

late war, and while still supplied with slaves from Africa, the Planters complained of inadequate returns, and of unequal competition in foreign markets. These results were then ascribed to the circumstances of the war which has long ceased, and which were necessarily independent of the causes now alleged. Your Committee are well aware that this similarity of complaint and discrepancy of assigned reasons has occasioned some distrust of the accuracy of those which are now put forward."

Extract from a Report of a Committee of the Assembly of Jamaica, dated November, 1804.

"That every British merchant holding securities on real estate is filing Bills in Chancery to foreclose, although, when he has obtained a decree, he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become proprietor of the plantations of which, from fatal experience, he knows the consequences. No one will advance money to relieve those whose debts approach half the value of their property, nor even lend moderate sums without a judgement in ejectment and release of errors, that, at a moment's notice, he may take out a writ of possession, and enter on the plantation of his unfortunate debtor. Sheriff's officers and collectors of internal taxes are everywhere offering for sale the property of individuals who have seen better days, and now must view their effects purchased for half their real value, and less than half their original cost. Far from having the reversion expected, the creditor is often not satisfied. All kind of credit is at end. If litigation in the Courts of Common Law is diminished, it is not from increased ability to perform contracts, but from confidence having ceased, and no man parting with property, but for an immediate

payment of the consideration. A faithful detail would have the appearance of frightful caricature."

The above extract was quoted by Lord Derby, in his speech in the House of Commons, on moving the resolutions for the Abolition of Slavery, on the 14th of May, 1833.—See the 'Mirror of Parliament' for that year, vol. ii. p. 1773.

H.

Copy of a Despatch from Earl Grey to Governor the Right Hon. Sir C. E. Grey.

"*Downing-street, October* 11, 1848.

"SIR,

"I received your despatch, No. 75, of the 19th August, with copies of the Votes of the House of Assembly of Jamaica from the 4th to the 16th August, to which it refers.

"It is satisfactory to me to find that you take the same view as myself as respects the capability of Jamaica to yield a revenue adequate to its wants. I have never doubted that an island so rich in natural resources, and possessing a considerable population, which I have no reason to believe to be indisposed to industry, must be able to raise such an amount of revenue as would be required to meet the expenses of its Civil Government, provided proper means were adopted for this purpose, and for that of encouraging industry and of stimulating the inhabitants to exertion. It rests however entirely with the Assembly to consider what are the proper measures to be adopted with this view; and considering how vitally the interests of their constituents are concerned in their deliberations on this subject, I cannot doubt that they will earnestly apply

themselves to the task of devising such measures as may appear to them best suited to the present condition of the Colony.

"With reference however to your observations that 'Her Majesty's Government ought to be prepared towards the end of this year to say in what manner the local Goverment of the Island is to be carried on, in the event of the usual annual supplies for 1849 being refused,' I think it right at once and distinctly to inform you, that this is a responsibility which Her Majesty's Government cannot accept. The Constitution of Jamaica has placed in the hands of the representatives of its inhabitants, the exclusive power and duty of raising in the Colony such an annual income as is necessary for the support of the various public establishments they have judged proper to be maintained for the benefit of the Island; and if those representatives will no longer provide the means of keeping up such establishments, the Colony must unavoidably be deprived of the benefit derived from them. Parliament undoubtedly could not with propriety be asked to supply the deficiency, nor would it in my judgement be consistent with its duty, to grant from the taxes levied from the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, any money for such a purpose. The different public establishments have been created by the Colonial Legislature on a scale which I believe to be by no means beyond what is required to provide for the due adminstration of justice, for the enforcement of the law, the maintenance of order, the security of person and property, and the due performance of various other services required for the welfare of the community. Recent events have shown, in a striking manner, the necessity of these establishments, and of the police more especially; and I should therefore deeply regret any inju-

dicious measures which should prevent their being maintained; but as they are kept up exclusively for the benefit of the inhabitants of Jamaica, it is for the Assembly by which those inhabitants are represented, to weigh the loss which might be sustained by failing to provide an adequate revenue for their support, against the difficulties which may exist in imposing the taxes required for this purpose. The Governor's own duty, and that of Her Majesty's Government, is confined to doing what lies in them towards preventing an increase of the existing difficulties, by refusing to assent to any ill-considered and imprudent measures of legislation. I therefore entirely approve of the intention which you have expressed in your despatch, of refusing your assent to any Acts which may be tendered to you for affording assistance to the Planters' Bank, in the mode which you mention as having been suggested. The measures alluded to would plainly be most objectionable, and I am at loss myself to discover any mode in which such assistance could be given which would not be open to great objection, though I shall of course reserve my judgement upon this point until I know what measures may finally be considered advisable by the Legislature.

"I have, etc.,

"(Signed) GREY."

Copy of a Despatch from Earl Grey to Governor the Right Hon. Sir C. E. Grey.

"*Downing-street, April* 16, 1849.

"SIR,

"I have received and laid before the Queen your Despatches, Nos. 21, 24, and 25, the first dated the 19th February, with a Postscript of the 21st February, enclosing

the votes of the Assembly from the 2nd to the 17th of February, with other documents; the others enclosing Memorials to the Queen from the Council and from the Chief Justice, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Judges of the Supreme Court, which have reference to the course taken by the Assembly in refusing to pass bills for the renewal or imposition of taxes sufficient to provide for the ordinary expenditure of the Island, authorized under permanent or unexpired acts; the charges thus left unprovided for, including the salaries of the Governor, the Judges, and the other public officers, and the stipends of the clergy. This refusal was founded, it appears, on the rejection by the Council of a bill by which the Assembly had proposed to reduce the salaries of all officers paid from the public funds (with the exception of their own speaker, clerk, and sergeant-at-arms, and certain other specified officers) in the proportions of 10 per cent. on salaries between £100 and £300, 15 per cent. on those between £300 and £500, 20 per cent. on those between £500 and £1000, 25 per cent. on those between £1000 and £2000, and 33½ per cent. on those above £2000.

"I am to acquaint you that Her Majesty was pleased to receive the Memorials of the Council and of the Judges very graciously.

"By a later mail I have also received, and I have laid before the Queen, your Despatches, Nos. 33 and 34, of the 10th of March, transmitting further accounts of the proceedings of the Assembly and of the prorogation of the Legislature of Jamaica. Her Majesty's Government have given their best consideration to the subject of these several despatches and their enclosures, and I am to convey to you Her Majesty's approval of the communications which you had occasion to make to the Assembly in the course of the proceedings set forth in their votes. Her Majesty entirely

approves the substance of those communications, and also the tone and temper by which they were characterized.

"I am further to acquaint you that the course pursued by the Council in the rejection of the Retrenchment Bill, appears to Her Majesty's Government to have been taken in the constitutional exercise of their proper functions, and in the exercise also of a sound judgement. The bill was insufficient (under the reduction of the import duties recently enacted and an imperfect system of collecting the taxes) for the purpose of equalizing the expenditure with the revenue of the Colony, and it was justly objected to, because it imposed an unfair and unequal tax exclusively on the incomes of public servants, though these incomes were, in many cases, secured to those by whom they are enjoyed, by Acts passed for periods which have not yet expired.

"With regard to the result of these proceedings in leaving various urgent demands on the Colonial Treasury unprovided for, you are aware that Her Majesty's Government have no authority to interfere. They can refuse to join in acts of injustice, and it is their duty to do so; but beyond this the Constitution of Jamaica invests them with no power, and therefore imposes upon them no responsibility. By that Constitution, and by the laws now in force in the Colony, the entire control over the public expenditure, and the exclusive right of levying taxes upon the inhabitants for the purpose of meeting that expenditure, are vested in the Colonial Legislature. Hence, for whatever evils may result from the refusal of the Assembly to renew the taxes usually levied under annual Acts, that body will have to bear the undivided responsibility. It will devolve upon you to administer any revenue which may remain available for the public service, according to any laws which may continue in force, and may impose that duty upon you, and to do the

best you can towards the support of order and justice under the circumstances; keeping strictly within the bounds of your lawful authority. It will also be your duty to adopt the most efficient means in your power for the strict collection of any taxes still in force, and of any arrears which may be due to the Island Treasury, requiring all persons engaged in the collection of the revenue (so far as your legal authority extends) to give you for that purpose their best assistance. For the rest, of course it will not be possible for you or for Her Majesty's servants to regard with indifference the great public mischief and individual distress which must result from the proceedings of the Assembly; on the contrary, we cannot but feel deep concern at the injury inflicted upon the credit and upon the permanent interests of the Island, and sincere sympathy with the present sufferers; but the Constitution of the Island, as by law established, not calling upon us, or indeed permitting us, to take any part in these matters, we are at least relieved from the anxiety which would attend a more extended authority and more active duties.

"It appears, however, from your later Despatches that there exists on the part of a considerable number of the inhabitants of Jamaica, a strong desire for some change in the system on which the Government of that Colony is at present conducted, with the view of securing a better administration of its affairs, and putting an end to those unfortunate differences which now threaten such serious injury both to public and private interests. It is satisfactory to me to find that this desire has been awakened; for while it is impossible to consider the actual condition of the Colony, and the general conduct of its public affairs for the last few years as bearing upon that condition, without coming to the conclusion that a reform in the system of administration

is urgently required, it is at the same time evident that it is only by the inhabitants themselves, that such a reform can be accomplished. The institutions and the laws of Jamaica have invested its inhabitants with such ample powers in all that relates to its internal Government, that any improvement in that Government must be mainly their own work, though I need hardly assure you of the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government to afford them their best assistance and co-operation in any attempts they may make to effect it.

"The only specific suggestions which I can find to have been made for changes in the existing arrangements are, first, those relating to the Legislative Council; and secondly, that the system of Government now established in Canada should be introduced into Jamaica. As to the first I must remark, that while I am not aware of any good reason for objecting to such an enlargement of the Legislative Council as has been described as desirable by yourself, it does not appear to me that such a measure would have any tendency to remove the difficulties which have arisen in the Administration of the Colony; since these are not in any degree attributable to the conduct of the Council, that Board having done no more than its duty in rejecting the Retrenchment Bill which was tendered to it for its acceptance; at the same time apparently showing every disposition to concur in any general plan of economical reform involving a just measure of retrenchment, which might have been tendered to it. The same consideration applies with far greater force as an objection to the demand of the Assembly for a change not only in the number but in the constitution of the Legislative Council, as it has existed for nearly two hundred years. It is altogether impossible for Her Majesty's Government to entertain a demand of this kind, brought forward upon such grounds.

"The proposal to assimilate the system of administration in Jamaica to that which is now established in Canada is of a very different character, and it is one which, if not in all respects free from objection, has yet so much to recommend it that if it were the general desire of the people of Jamaica that such a change should be introduced, Her Majesty's Government would not be disposed to withhold their consent to its being so. I am not certain, however, that those who have originated this proposal are aware that its adoption would involve the surrender by the Assembly of much of that power which in the process of time it has acquired, but which, by the theory of the Constitution, ought rather to belong to the Executive Government than to the Legislature. In Jamaica the Members of the Assembly, under the name of Commissioners of Accounts, have practically taken upon themselves those duties with respect to the administration of the public expenditure, which in Canada are entrusted to responsible Members of the Executive Government. In Canada, no vote of public money can be made by the Assembly except on the recommendation of the Governor; in Jamaica, the Assembly is altogether free from any such control. In Canada, again, provision has been made by the creation of a permanent Revenue for the payment of a considerable Civil List; in Jamaica the Assembly has made the greater part of the Revenue dependent upon taxes only imposed for a year at a time, and of late for even a shorter period.

"I am far from being of opinion, that, judging of the two systems of administration by their practical results, that of Jamaica is to be preferred; on the contrary, in expressing my belief, in an earlier part of this Despatch, of the necessity for a reform in the administration of Jamaica, it was the management of its finances which I had

principally in view, and which, I am compelled to observe, appears to me to have been exceedingly defective, mainly in consequence of the retention by the Assembly, in its own hands, of powers little suited to any popular body. A careful review of the information which you have now transmitted to me, and of that previously to be found in the records of this office, leaves no doubt in my mind, that the financial difficulties with which Jamaica has now to struggle have been greatly aggravated, if not occasioned, by the want of a steady and persevering adherence to a system of judicious and well considered economy. I find that a debt has been incurred, which though not perhaps very large in amount compared with the natural resources of the Island, yet bears a high rate of interest, the charge for which is a heavy item in the annual expenditure. I find also that recourse has been had to the expedient of meeting a part of that expenditure by the issue of what are called Island Cheques, which constitute in fact an inconvertible paper currency, now considerably depreciated, and which acts most unfavourably on the general trade of the Colony, and must necessarily subject the Colonial Treasury to a heavy loss in the collection of the revenue. I find likewise that while debt, in its most burdensome form, has thus been accumulated, little has been done to prevent the expenditure exceeding the revenue. Within a few years Acts have been passed by the Colonial Legislature, by which very large additions have been made to the public establishments, and this increase, which was probably called for by the exigencies of the public service, has not been met by the adoption of efficient means to ensure the punctual collection of the taxes, to enforce a strict audit of the public accounts, and to maintain a proper check upon the incurring of new expenses without due inquiry, and a real and proved neces-

sity. What you have stated to me, as to the large arrears of taxes still uncollected, the circumstances under which the deficiency in the accounts of the late Receiver-General took place, (which remains, I believe, still unsatisfied,) and the nature of many of the charges annually voted by the Assembly, without the recommendation of any responsible authority, afford conclusive evidence, how little true economy has been studied in the financial administration of the Colony. It is also, I think, hardly less clear that this faulty administration of the colonial finances is mainly to be attributed to the absence, under the system which has been adopted, of any effective responsibility bearing upon individuals for the errors which have been committed.

"Hence, if in order to secure a better administration of their affairs, and especially of their finances, the people of Jamaica should think proper by their representatives either in this, or in a newly elected Assembly, to ask Her Majesty's sanction for the adoption of a similar mode of conducting the Government of the Colony to that which now exists in Canada, I am not aware that any obstacle, which might not easily be overcome, would stand in the way of a compliance with their wishes. The only legislative measures which would be necessary for this purpose, would be such as the Colonial Legislature would have full authority to pass, and would consist mainly of acts to repeal the various laws heretofore passed, for vesting in the Assembly, or in its members in the character of Commissioners of Account, some of the anomalous powers they now possess, and to create and provide salaries for the offices to be held by responsible public servants, by whose assistance the Governor would have to conduct the affairs of the Island.

"Considering the great natural advantages possessed by Jamaica, and the amount of its population, I cannot doubt

that if by this, or by any other means, a steady perseverance in a well-considered and consistent system of financial policy could be secured, great relief might be afforded to the industry of the Colony in the difficulties with which it has now to struggle. But for this purpose it is especially necessary that all the measures of the Legislature should be governed by a calm and deliberate consideration of the real wants and interests of the Island, and that these measures should not be liable to frequent changes adopted upon slight grounds. I need hardly remind you that some of the salaries which it has lately been proposed to reduce by no less than one-third of their amount, were only a few years ago secured, by Acts passed apparently after full deliberation, to the holders of offices which were at that time created, and that some of these offices were accepted by gentlemen at a considerable sacrifice of the incomes they then enjoyed from other sources, solely from a consideration of the security they believed they should possess for the official salaries thus granted to them. Whether the Legislature at that time acted wisely in creating these offices, and in assigning to their holders the remuneration which was determined upon, it is not necessary for me to inquire: for be this as it may, it is obvious that in addition to the injustice of the sweeping reduction of these salaries which has been proposed, that measure is utterly inconsistent with that true economy which consists in obtaining for the public the best possible service at a moderate cost. If it shall once be known that the Legislature of Jamaica cannot be depended upon for maintaining the salaries which it has secured, by Acts deliberately passed, to the holders of certain offices, it is certain that these offices will no longer be accepted by men of superior qualifications, at the same moderate salaries which would suffice if their permanence were not exposed to hazard.

"In the same manner there can be little doubt that the charge of the debt might be diminished, and the inconvenience arising from the circulation of inconvertible Island Cheques might be got rid of on moderate terms, if the credit of the Colony were improved, by providing, as in this Country, a permanent revenue equal to the fixed charges upon it, instead of leaving the public creditor almost entirely dependent upon annual taxes, the renewal of which may be interrupted by any such differences between the branches of the Legislature as those which have now occurred.

"I have thus indicated (studiously avoiding all details) the general character of the measures by which it is in the power of the Legislature of Jamaica to promote the welfare of its inhabitants and alleviate the pressure of the difficulties with which they have now to contend. The cordial concurrence of yourself, of the Council, and of Her Majesty's Government in measures of this description is not doubtful; and if the people of Jamaica desire their adoption, they can have no difficulty in causing their wishes to be attended to by their Representatives. It rests, therefore, with the people themselves to determine what course is to be followed, since it will be their own interests which will mainly suffer from any error which may be committed by their Representatives, as I trust they will distinctly understand when you shall again call together the Legislature. I have no doubt, from your past conduct, that you will judge rightly when the proper time is come for doing so, and also as to whether or not it may be right, previously, to dissolve the present for the purpose of causing a new Assembly to be elected. But with reference to the next meeting of the Legislature, whenever it may take place, I think it indispensable to direct that the clause of the Royal Instructions,

forbidding you to give your assent to any laws enacted for a less term than one year, unless to meet some special and unforeseen emergency, shall be in future strictly adhered to. This is a clause of very old date in the Royal Instructions to the Governors of Jamaica and of other Colonies, founded on strong grounds of permanent policy; and although I am not surprised that you should have thought a deviation from it expedient, under the difficult circumstances in which you were placed, and though I am far from disapproving of your having done so, I am satisfied that for the future a steady adherence to it will be the course best calculated to promote the public interests. The result of the concession you have made upon this point is the clearest proof that it ought not to be repeated, and you will cause it to be distinctly understood by the Legislature that Her Majesty has left you no discretion upon this head, but has commanded you strictly to adhere to the letter of the Instructions which have for so long a time been given to all the Governors of Jamaica, as to the duration of any Acts which they are at liberty to accept.

"And although I am equally aware of the cogency of the motives which induced you to assent to the Import Duties Bill, notwithstanding the Clauses of Appropriation attached to it, I have to instruct you not in future to admit of any innovation on the regular and constitutional practice of keeping Revenue and Appropriation Bills separate from each other; assuming that to have been, as I understand to be the case, a practice as fully established in Jamaica as it has been in this country, and in the other Colonies whose Constitutions have been modelled on our own. It is a practice which cannot be departed from without danger.

"I have received Her Majesty's commands to cause

copies of the Despatches before me to be presented in both Houses of Parliament.

"I have, etc.,

"*Governor Sir C. E. Grey,* (Signed) GREY."

"*etc. etc. etc.*"

I.

At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 1st day of May, 1849. *Present, The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

Whereas there was this day read at the Board a Report of the Right Honourable The Lords of the Committee of Council, appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations, dated the 4th day of April last, in the words following, viz :—

"Your Majesty having been pleased by your Order in Council of the 31st January last, to refer unto this Committee copies of a correspondence between Earl Grey, one of Your Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and Sir Charles Fitzroy and the other Governors of Your Majesty's Australian Settlements, on the subject of the introduction to Parliament, in the ensuing session, of a Bill for the better government of those Colonies, to consider the same, and report to Your Majesty our opinion as to the steps which it would be advisable for Your Majesty to take on the subject of the said correspondence.

"In obedience to Your Majesty's commands we have taken into consideration the subject so referred to us, and humbly submit to Your Majesty the following Report of the conclusions which we have adopted.

"In order to render intelligible the grounds on which our opinions on this subject proceed, we must briefly advert to the distinctions between the practice which has been observed during the present century, and the practice which was observed in earlier times, respecting the establishment of systems of civil government in the colonial dependencies of the British Crown.

"In those ancient possessions of Your Majesty's royal predecessors, which at present form so large a part of the United States of America, and in all the other British Colonies (whether acquired by the occupation of vacant territories or by cessions from foreign powers), there prevailed until the commencement of the nineteenth century the almost invariable usage of establishing a local legislature consisting of three estates—that is, of a Governor appointed by the Sovereign, of a Council nominated by the Sovereign, and of an Assembly elected by the people. Although in some cases other schemes of colonial polity had been at first established, yet those schemes had all, with one exception, progressively been brought, before the end of the eighteenth century, into conformity with this general type or model. The Colonies of Ceylon, Trinidad, and Guiana, do not form exceptions, for although conquered, they had not been ceded before the beginning of the present century. Nor is Newfoundland an exception, because it was in those times regarded and governed as a mere fishing station, and not as a colony. Neither can Malta and Gibraltar be referred to as exceptions, because they were regarded not as colonies, but as mere military fortresses, and were governed by military laws. The only real exception was in the case of Sierra Leone, which at the era in question was governed by an incorporated company.

"Further, these colonial constitutions were all (except

in the Canadas) created by letters patent under the Great Seal either of England or of Great Britain, and those letters patent were issued in the exercise of an unquestionable and undisputed prerogative of the Crown. But in Lower and Upper Canada, the three estates of Governor, Council, and Assembly, were established, not by the Crown, but by the express authority of Parliament. This deviation from the general usage was unavoidable, because it was judged right to impart to the Roman Catholic population of the Canadas privileges which in the year 1791 the Crown could not have lawfully conferred on them. There is also reason to believe that the settlement of the Canadian Constitution, not by a grant from the Crown merely, but in virtue of a positive statute, was regarded by the American loyalists as an important guarantee for the secure enjoyment of their political franchises.

"But during the nineteenth century the British Crown has acquired, by conquest and cession from foreign states, three transatlantic Colonies, one Colony in Southern Africa, and four Colonies to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. During the same period the British Crown has acquired, by the occupation of vacant territories, two Colonies on the western coast of Africa, three in New Holland, one in Van Diemen's Land, one in New Zealand, and one in the Falkland Islands. In no one of these sixteen Colonies has the old colonial polity of a Governor, Council, and Assembly been introduced. In no one of them (except New South Wales) has any electoral franchise been granted to the colonists, or any share in the local legislation to their representatives.

"In all these conquered Colonies, the ancient system of internal government remains such as it was at the times of the respective conquests, excepting that by letters patent

under the Great Seal, a Governor and a Council appointed by the Crown have in each of them been authorized to make local laws. In Guiana, indeed, no such letters patent have been issued, because the ancient Dutch legislature still retains in that Colony its ancient forms and powers.

"In all the Colonies acquired during the nineteenth century by the occupation of vacant territories, the same system of internal legislation by a Governor and a Council appointed by the Crown has been introduced by the authority of Parliament.

"In Colonies so acquired, the Royal prerogative was competent only to the establishment of systems of civil government, of which a Legislature, composed in part at least of the representatives of the people, formed a component part. To dispense even for awhile with such a Legislature, Parliamentary aid was requisite. But in sanctioning that departure from the general type or model of the earlier colonial Constitutions, it has been the practice of Parliament to recognize the ancient principle, and to record the purpose of resuming the former constitutional practice so soon as the causes should have ceased to operate, which in each particular case had forbidden the immediate observance of it. Nor has the pledge thus repeatedly given been forgotten. It has been redeemed in New South Wales, except so far as relates to the combination which has taken place there of the Council and Assembly into one Legislative House or Chamber. It has been redeemed with regard to New Zealand, although peculiar circumstances have required a temporary postponement of the operation in that Colony of the Act passed by Parliament for establishing in it a Representative Legislature.

"We are of opinion that the time has not yet arrived

for conferring this franchise on the Colonists of Western Australia, because they are unable to fulfil the condition on which alone, as it appears to us, such a grant ought to be made; the condition, that is, of sustaining the expense of their own civil government by means of the local revenue, which would be placed under the direction and control of their representatives. Whenever the Settlers in Western Australia shall be willing and able to perform this condition, they ought, we apprehend, to be admitted to the full enjoyment of the corresponding franchises, but not till then.

"The Colonies of South Australia and Van Diemen's Land, being on the other hand at once willing and able to provide by local resources for the public expenditure of each, or at least for so much of that expenditure as is incurred with a view to colonial and local objects, the time has in our judgement arrived when Parliament may properly be recommended to institute in each of those Colonies a legislature in which the representatives of the people at large should enjoy and exercise their constitutional authority.

"In submitting to Your Majesty this advice, we are only repeating an opinion so familiar and so generally adopted by all persons conversant with the government of the British Colonies, that it would seem superfluous to support it by argument or explanation. The introduction of this constitutional principle into every dependency of the British Crown is a general rule sanctioned by a common and clear assent. The exception to that rule arises only when it can be shown that the observance of it would induce evils still more considerable than those which it would obviate and correct. We are aware of no reason for apprehending that such a preponderance of evil would follow on the intro-

duction of such a change in South Australia and Van Diemen's Land. The contrary anticipation appears to be entertained by all those who possess the best means and the greatest powers of foreseeing the probable results of such a measure. We therefore recommend that, during the present session of Parliament, a Bill should be introduced for securing to the representatives of the people of South Australia and Van Diemen's Land, respectively, their due share in the legislature of each of those Colonies.

"We apprehend however that it would be found highly inconvenient to consider this question as it regards those two settlements, without at the same time adverting to the effects with which such a change in them must be followed in the whole range of the Australian Colonies.

"New Holland is at present divided between the three governments of New South Wales, South Australia, and Western Australia. The most cursory inspection of the maps and charts of those regions will sufficiently show, that as they shall become more populous and more extensively settled, it will be necessary to divide them into a greater number of distinct Colonies. But confining our immediate attention to the case of New South Wales, we observe that the cities of Sydney and of Melbourne, lying at a great distance from each other, form the respective capitals of districts of great extent, separated from each other by diversities of climate and by some corresponding differences in their natural resources, and in the agricultural and commercial pursuits followed in each of them. The inhabitants of the southern districts have long and earnestly solicited that Melbourne should be made the seat and centre of a Colonial Government separated from that of Sydney; and so decided has this wish become of late, that on the recent general election of members of the

Legislature of New South Wales collectively, the inhabitants of the southern district have virtually and in effect refused to make any such choice. The reluctance which was at first so naturally entertained at Sydney to the proposed innovation, appears to have gradually but effectually yielded to the progress of knowledge and reasoning on the subject. The Governor and the Executive Council, the existing Legislature, and, as we believe, the great body of the Colonists, now favour the contemplated division of their extensive territory into a northern and a southern Colony.

"Nor is it surprising that such should have been the ultimate conclusion of such a debate. The inhabitants of countries recently and imperfectly settled are exposed to few greater social evils than that of the remoteness of the seat of government from large bodies of the settlers. The effect is virtually to disfranchise a large proportion, if not a majority, of the Colonists, by excluding them from any share in the management of public affairs, and in the inspection and control of the conduct of their rulers. In such circumstances the inconveniences of the centralization of all the powers of Government are experienced in their utmost force. The population of the districts most distant from the metropolis are compelled to entrust the representation of their persons and the care of their local interests to settled residents at that metropolis, who possess but a very slight knowledge of their constituents, and a faint sympathy with their peculiar pursuits and wants.

"We propose therefore that Parliament should be recommended to authorize the division of the existing Colony of New South Wales into a northern and a southern province. Sydney would be the capital of the northern division, which would retain the present name of New South Wales. Melbourne would be the capital of the southern division,

on which we would humbly advise that Your Majesty should be graciously pleased to confer the name of Victoria. In former times Your Majesty's royal ancestors or predecessors permitted a similar use of their names to designate provinces on the North American continent. Venturing to presume that it will be Your Majesty's pleasure to follow those precedents on the present occasion, we shall take the liberty in the sequel of this Report to use the name of Victoria to describe the same province; and the name of New South Wales to describe the northern province of the great territory to which, collectively, the latter of those appellations at present belongs.

"The line of demarcation between New South Wales and Victoria would coincide with the existing boundary between the two districts into which, for certain purposes, the Colony is already divided. It would commence at Cape How, pursue a straight line to the nearest source of the River Murray, and follow the course of that river as far as the boundary which now divides New South Wales from South Australia.

"In each of the two proposed provinces of New South Wales and Victoria, we apprehend that provision ought now to be made by Parliament for creating a Legislature, in which the representatives of the people should exercise their constitutional authority and influence. We do not advise that resort should be had for these purposes to the ancient and unaided prerogatives of Your Majesty's Crown, because it is not competent to Your Majesty, in the exercise of that prerogative, to supersede the Constitutions which Parliament has already established in the Australian Colonies. Parliamentary intervention is therefore indispensable.

"If we were approaching the present question under

circumstances which left to us the unfettered exercise of our own judgement as to the nature of the Legislature to be established in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Van Diemen's Land, we should advise that Parliament should be moved to recur to the ancient constitutional usage by establishing in each a Governor, a Council, and an Assembly. For we think it desirable that the political institutions of the British Colonies should thus be brought into the nearest possible analogy to the Constitution of the United Kingdom. We also think it wise to adhere as closely as possible to our ancient maxims of government on this subject, and to the precedents in which those maxims have been embodied. The experience of centuries has ascertained the value and the practical efficiency of that system of Colonial polity to which those maxims and precedents afford their sanction. In the absence of some very clear and urgent reason for breaking up the ancient uniformity of design in the government of the Colonial dependencies of the Crown, it would seem unwise to depart from that uniformity. And further, the whole body of constitutional law which determines the rights and the duties of the different branches of the ancient Colonial governments having, with the lapse of time, been gradually ascertained and firmly established, we must regret any innovation which tends to deprive the Australian Colonies of the great advantage of possessing such a code so defined and so maturely considered.

"But great as is the weight that we attach tothese considerations, the circumstances under which we actually approach the question are such as to constrain us, however reluctantly, to adopt the opinion that the proposed Act of Parliament should provide for the establishment in each of the four Australian Colonies of a single House of Legis-

lature only; one-third of the members of which should be nominated by Your Majesty, and the remaining two-thirds elected by the Colonists.

"For such is in point of fact the system which now prevails throughout the territories which will compose the two provinces of New South Wales and Victoria. It was the pleasure of Parliament, in the year 1842, to establish that system. Custom appears to have attached the Colonists to it. Public opinion in New South Wales would appear to be decidedly opposed to an alteration, in this respect, of the existing Constitution of the Colony by the authority of Parliament.

"Of this fact the most conclusive proof is to be found in the petitions recently presented to Your Majesty and to Parliament, from a large body of the Colonists, praying that no change may be made, without the consent of the inhabitants at large, in the constitution and form which the local Legislature has already received from Parliament. In the absence of any counter-petitions we think it reasonable to conclude that such is the deliberate judgement of the great body of the settlers in New South Wales and Victoria, and we are of opinion that it would be unwise and unjustifiable to force such a change upon them. All that in our judgement can be reasonably done, is to leave to the legislatures, now to be established, the power of amending their own Constitutions, by resolving either of these single Houses of Legislature into two Houses. The weight which is justly due to the arguments in favour of that measure will, we trust, not be without its proper influence on both the electoral and the elected bodies.

"But even if the state of public opinion in New South Wales were less distinctly ascertained, the adoption of the course which in itself we regard as the most wise, would be

forbidden by the pledge into which Your Majesty's Executive Government have already entered on the subject. Proceeding, as we apprehend, in the same view which we have ourselves taken of the wishes and judgement of the inhabitants at large, and anticipating, as we believe, our own view of the impropriety of any direct encounter with that opinion on the present subject, Your Majesty's Secretary of State having the department of the Colonies, in a Despatch of the 21st July last, informed the Governor of New South Wales, and through him the existing Legislature and the Colonists at large, that this was not such a 'reform as it was at all incumbent on the Legislature at home to press on an unwilling or even on an indifferent people.' The language of this Despatch (in the wisdom of which we entirely concur) will of course be regarded by Your Majesty as implying an engagement, to which it is necessary strictly to adhere.

"The considerations to which we have thus adverted in favour of thus establishing a single House of Legislature in each of the two proposed provinces of New South Wales and Victoria, may perhaps appear applicable to those provinces only. For neither in Australia nor in Van Diemen's Land has Parliament introduced any such Constitution; nor has Your Majesty's Executive Government entered into any pledge on the subject to either of those Colonies; nor have any petitions been received ascertaining what is the state of public opinion in either of them on the question whether the Legislative Houses should be combined into one Chamber or separated into two. But we cannot from these considerations conclude that a real freedom remains to Your Majesty and to Parliament of selecting that which may appear on abstract grounds and on general principles to be the wiser course. We apprehend that the

inconvenience of settling the forms of government simultaneously in Colonies so closely adjacent and so intimately connected with each other, with any diversity in regard to a principle so fundamental as this, is a much more formidable inconvenience than any which could follow, from maintaining a strict uniformity in that respect. As therefore, for the reasons which we have already assigned, it appears necessary to constitute a single House of Legislature only, both in New South Wales and Victoria, we are of opinion that the same system must prevail in regard to South Australia and Van Diemen's Land.

"We recommend therefore that the proposed Act of Parliament should provide for convoking in each of the four Colonies a Legislature comprising two estates only, that is, a Governor and a single House, composed of nominees of the Crown and of the representatives of the people jointly. We also think that in South Australia and Van Diemen's Land, as in New South Wales and Victoria, the Legislatures now to be established ought to have the power of amending their own Constitutions, by resolving either of these single Houses of Legislature into two Houses. Whatever the result may be in either of the four Colonies, Your Majesty will thus at least have the satisfaction of knowing that free scope had been given for the influence of public opinion in them all; and that this constitutional question has been finally adjusted in each, in accordance with that opinion.

"For the same reason we think it desirable that the Legislatures now to be created should be entrusted with the power of making any other amendments in their own Constitution which time and experience may show to be requisite. We are aware of no sufficient cause for withholding this power, and we believe that the want of it in the other

British Colonies has often been productive of serious inconvenience.

"On the other hand we do not think it right that a subordinate Legislature should have the power of enlarging or altering any of the constitutional franchises conferred on it by Parliament, without either the express or the implied assent of the Queen, Lords, and Commons of the United Kingdom. We should object to such an unrestrained permission, not for technical or legal reasons merely, but on broad and substantial grounds. Changes in the Constitution of any Colony may be productive of consequences extending far beyond the limits of the place itself. They may affect the interests of other British settlements adjacent or remote. They may be injurious to the less powerful classes of the local society. They may be prejudicial to Your Majesty's subjects in this country, or they may invade the rights of Your Majesty's Crown. We think therefore that no Act of any Australian Legislature which shall in any manner enlarge, retrench, or alter the Constitution of that Legislature of its rights and privileges, or which shall be in any respect at variance with the Act of Parliament or other instruments under which the Legislature is constituted, ought to be of any validity until it had been expressly confirmed and finally enacted by Your Majesty in Council. And we are further of opinion that it should not be lawful to make any Order in Council so confirming any such Act, until it had been laid before each House of Parliament for at least thirty days.

"Such being the general views we entertain as to the creation of the proposed Australian Legislatures, it seems necessary to advert, however briefly, to the subordinate and auxiliary enactments requisite for giving effect to that design. We shall however indicate the principal topics of

this class to which it will be necessary to advert, without entering into any minute examination of the particular course which it would be desirable to follow in regard to each of them.

"The Statute-book abounds in recent precedents of such enactments. They will especially be found in the Acts establishing the existing Legislature of New South Wales, and in the recent Act for establishing a Legislature in New Zealand. The main objects of them are the division of each Colony into convenient electoral districts; the determining who shall be qualified to vote and to be elected; the settling whatever relates to the registration of votes, the conduct of elections, and the making returns; the ascertaining all the rules to be observed respecting the nomination of such of the members as are not to be elected; the defining the powers of the Governor as to the acceptance or rejection of bills; the defining the powers of Your Majesty with regard to the confirmation or disallowance of any such bills; and the securing to the Executive Government of each Colony the initiation of all money votes. It would be easy to enlarge this catalogue of subordinate topics demanding attention in framing the proposed Act of Parliament, but, for the reason already mentioned, we apprehend that it would be a needless addition to the length of this Report.

"We should think it prudent, if we thought it practicable, to confine the proposed Act to those provisions which are necessary for constituting Legislatures in the four Colonies in question, and for enabling those Legislatures to perform the duties to which they will be called. For we contemplate with great reluctance any departure from the general principle which leaves to the local Legislature of every Colony the creation of other local institutions, and

the enactment of any laws which are to have their operation within the local limits of the Colony. But there are circumstances which seem to render unavoidable some deviation from that principle in the case of the Australian Colonies.

"Thus throughout New South Wales there are at present existing (at least in point of law) municipal corporations called District Councils. In point of fact, and for every practical purpose, these bodies may be regarded as extinct. Nevertheless, their legal rights, founded on an Act of Parliament, might at any time be called into action. It becomes therefore inevitable that Parliament should, in some form or other, dispose of the claims of these bodies to corporate powers and privileges.

"The most obvious course is that of a simple repeal of so much of the existing statute as relates to the District Councils, leaving the local Legislatures to deal with the subject afterwards at their discretion. The objection to this method of proceeding is, that it would not really be the mere removal from the British Statute-book of a series of ineffectual enactments. It would be regarded, and not unreasonably regarded, in these Colonies, as a significant intimation of the judgement of Parliament, that local municipal corporations might safely be dispensed with in their system of government. We think that it would be highly inexpedient to afford any countenance to such an opinion.

"We are of opinion that the existence in Australia of municipal bodies in a state of efficiency is scarcely less necessary to the public welfare, than the existence there of representative Legislatures. A large part of the benefit to be derived from such Legislatures, seems to us to depend on the simultaneous establishment and co-existence of incorporated municipalities. It is the only practicable security

against the danger of undue centralization. It is the only security for the vigilant and habitual attention by the local Legislature to the interests of the more remote localities. It is by such bodies alone that in those secluded societies public spirit is kept alive, and skill in the conduct of public affairs acquired and exercised. It is in such corporations that the Colonists are trained to act as legislators in a larger sphere. By them, and by them alone, can any effectual resistance be made to the partial and undue dedication of the public resources, to the advantage of districts peculiarly fortunate in the zeal and authority of their representatives in the Legislature.

"For these reasons we cannot think it right that the legal existence of the existing District Councils should be abolished by Parliament.

"We think it would be a better course that the Act of Parliament passed in 1842 should be amended, by enacting that the District Councils which it contemplated should not be brought into operation, unless upon the petition of the inhabitants of the several districts; and that the Governor should be invested with the power of issuing charters for creating these corporations, in the districts from which he should receive petitions for their establishment, such petitions fairly representing the prevailing and deliberate wishes of the inhabitants of any such district. We apprehend that this arrangement, by which the grant of corporate powers would be left to the Governor, as the representative of Your Majesty, would be in strict accordance with the practice of this country from the earliest period. The ancient charters of incorporation were granted, on the petition of the towns, to which they were accorded by the Sovereigns. The early charters invested the corporations with the right of holding markets and of levying tolls, and

landed property was also frequently conferred upon them, and they were thus placed in a possession of such resources as were necessary for the proper performance of the duties assigned to them.

"When, in the progress of society, a different state of things had arisen, and it was no longer possible to provide any new corporations which might be created, with the pecuniary means of discharging the functions belonging to them, without the imposition of rates, as it was held that the authority of the Crown did not extend to empowering corporations created by it to levy rates, the practice of granting charters fell into disuse, and many of our largest towns experienced much inconvenience from being without any adequate local organization. To meet this difficulty, Parliament, in reforming the ancient corporations, invested the Crown, in the year 1835, with the power of granting charters, by which the corporations so created should be authorized to levy rates for local purposes.

"Charters of incorporation have in this country, it is true, been confined to the towns; but, without charters, the rural districts have possessed from the earliest times an organization enabling them to manage their own local affairs with but little interference on the part either of the Crown or of the Legislature, except for the purpose of from time to time extending or regulating the exercise of the powers of their local authorities.

"The parish vestries, from very ancient times, have exercised the power of levying rates for the repair of churches, to which was afterwards added the relief of the poor. The magistrates, also, who may be regarded as the virtual representatives of the counties, have been empowered by Acts of Parliament, passed at various times, to levy county rates for the purpose of building bridges, gaols, lunatic

asylums, and court-houses; also for the custody of prisoners, for maintaining a police, and for various other purposes of local interest. It has always been held that this system of local government has been one of the main elements of our national greatness and of the stability of the British Constitution.

"In Australia it seems impossible, from its peculiar circumstances, to create so complex a system of local organization as that which prevails in this Country; in their present state of progress, inconvenience only could result from attempting to create in these Colonies, parishes, poor-law unions, and corporate towns, with their distinct powers; the same localities being, for different purposes, under the jurisdiction of two or three different local authorities. But we are of opinion that it would be both practicable and desirable that so extensive a territory should be divided into districts, each possessing some body of a representative character, constituted in some simple manner, to which should be entrusted all the powers of local administration which are required. Such a body ought to possess the power of levying rates, but we would recommend that the exercise of this power should not be made imperative, and that the provision of the existing Act of Parliament, which renders it necessary that half the expense of the police in each district should be thus levied, should be repealed. The Colonial Legislature ought, we think, to have full power to pass laws, making any regulations it may think fit as to the mode of assessing and levying rates; also for making any alterations which may be found necessary in the constitution and in the duties assigned to these municipal bodies. We recommend that the provisions we have now described should be made applicable to Van Diemen's Land and South Australia, as well to the provinces into

which New South Wales will be divided, and should likewise be extended to Western Australia, whenever that settlement may be capable of receiving a representative legislature.

"It may however be questioned, and with great apparent reason, whether there exists, or is likely to arise in any of these Colonies, a disposition to bring into action the dormant powers of the existing municipalities, or to solicit the grant of any new powers of that nature. It is at least certain, that there has hitherto been a strong disinclination in the rural districts of New South Wales to assume the privileges and to undertake the responsibilities of such incorporations, and that reluctance may of course be found insuperable hereafter. If so, we should regard it as a conclusive objection to the project of reviving the old or of creating new municipalities. Neither Your Majesty nor Parliament would desire to force unwelcome duties on the Australian Colonists under the name of franchises. If such duties are not undertaken with alacrity, and performed with zeal, and controlled by public vigilance, and rewarded by public applause, they would be undertaken to no good purpose, and would be better declined.

"But the acknowledged want of alacrity and zeal in this service in the municipal corporations already established, has been publicly and generally ascribed to a cause which we are disposed to regard as remediable. In order to the effective execution of the powers of these bodies, it would be necessary to raise large local rates, and to devote a large part of the produce of them to an expenditure unfruitful of any considerable or immediate advantage to the ratepayers. If, for example, a road or a drain should be formed through a district imperfectly settled, by the produce of rates levied on the present settlers, that outlay would confer on the un-

granted lands, in proportion to their extent, a benefit equal to that which the settled lands would derive from it. Eventually, indeed, those ungranted lands would be sold at prices enhanced by this application of the local rates, and the general territorial revenue of the colony would to the same extent be enhanced; but the ratepayers of the district would receive no peculiar benefit excepting that of the more rapid increase of settlement in their immediate vicinity. Persons living in a new country, to whom the command of capital is of such urgent importance, can never be expected to find in such remote, uncertain, and inappreciable benefits as these, a motive strong enough to induce them to impose on themselves rates to which the wild lands could contribute nothing.

"To remove this very reasonable objection, we would observe that one-half of the territorial revenue of the Australian Colonies is at present appropriated by Act of Parliament to the cost of introducing emigrants. The remaining half, subject to a deduction of certain enumerated charges, has been placed by Parliament at the disposal of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury for the public service of the respective Colonies. We recommend that of the territorial revenue realized in each district, the proportion thus left under their Lordships' control, should be placed by them at the disposal of the District Councils for objects of local concern, reserving only such a percentage as might be necessary for any purposes of general interest which ought to be charged upon this fund. We should further propose that the sums so placed at the disposal of the District Councils should be applicable exclusively to public works within their respective districts. We also think that no such work, if effected at the expense or by the aid of the land-fund, should be undertaken without

a previous report on its probable advantages, and a previous estimate of its cost by official persons duly qualified to prepare such reports and estimates. Further, we would advise that no such work should be actually undertaken without the previous sanction of the Governor in Council, founded on the proposed estimates and reports. Finally, we think that the proper officers of each District Council should render, annually, accounts of the grant of the last preceding year, which accounts should be published for general information. No additional grant ought to be made to any such body so long as any such account was in arrear.

"It appears to us that by dedicating to these purposes that part of the land-fund which Parliament has left at the disposal of the Crown, many important ends would be answered. The Executive Government in this Country would be relieved of a responsibility which is as needless as it is invidious. A powerful motive would be called into action for the acceptance and employment of the proposed corporate franchises. The great principle of devoting the land-fund to the utmost possible extent to the improvement of the land would be observed. The manual labourers introduced into the Colony by the one-half of that fund would not more directly contribute to the improvement of the territory than the remaining portion would contribute to that end by the creation of roads, drains, and other similar works. The price of all ungranted lands in the district would be enhanced by such works, and of that increased price the Colony would receive the benefit in an augmented emigration fund, while the particular district would also receive a particular benefit from it in an augmented dividend of the part of the fund which we propose to dedicate to these services. It would operate as an inducement to purchase waste lands to *bonâ fide* settlers, as

every such purchaser would, through the Council of his district, virtually receive back again a large part of his payment for the land, in improvements of the locality in which it was situate. Thus every district in which sales of Crown lands could be effected would be in a state of progressive improvement. As, by means of successive sales, the waste lands of the Crown in any district became small in comparison with the improved lands of actual settlers, this source of local revenue would indeed diminish; but the value of the rateable property would be continually increasing. The resource afforded by this use of the funds at the disposal of the Lords of the Treasury would thus come in aid of the local resources of a district when such aid was most essential to its welfare, and would cease to avail the district as it became more and more independent of all resources but its own. Thus District Councils would be rescued from the necessity of contracting debts in the infancy of the settlement of their district, when the lenders of the money would demand a very high rate of interest, and such loans would be necessary only in districts wealthy enough to be able to make them on moderate terms.

"As however the proposed application of this fund must be contingent on the acceptance or non-acceptance by the districts of the proposed Charters, we apprehend that until that contingency shall be determined by the event, it will be premature to ratify by the authority of Parliament the contemplated dedication of the fund to these purposes. Nor is there any present necessity for the intervention of Parliament, as under the existing law Your Majesty possesses the power of directing this appropriation of the funds in question.

"Among the appropriations of the public revenues of New South Wales by Parliament, is that of a sum of

£30,000 per annum for the support of public worship, it being however referred to Your Majesty to apportion that fund between the different Christian Churches amongst which the Colonists are divided. Your Majesty has already determined that this sum shall be distributed between the Churches of England, of Scotland, and of Rome, and the Wesleyan Society. To each of those bodies has been assigned an income bearing to the entire income the proportion which, according to the census of the year 1841, the number of the members of each of those bodies bore to the collective number of the members of all of them. The census of 1846 has however shown such a change in these numerical proportions, or such an inaccuracy in the census of 1841, as renders the division of the fund somewhat more favourable to the Church of England than, according to the strict principle of that division, it ought to be.

"We are of opinion that the proposed Legislatures ought not to possess the unrestricted power of altering the existing arrangements. The vested rights which individual clergymen hold under the New South Wales Constitutional Act, ought, we apprehend, to be maintained inviolate. And in the absence of very weighty reasons, clearly and fully established, it would, we think, be inexpedient to deprive any one of the four Churches in question of any part of the temporal support to which it is at present entitled under that statute. The existing arrangement however, which appears to have contemplated a periodical revision of the number of the members of each Church, and a consequent readjustment from time to time of their respective dividends, is in this respect open to much objection, and the effect of adopting that principle would inevitably be to bring discredit on the efforts made by those Churches for the diffusion of the opinions peculiar to and characteristic

of each of them. Such efforts would be ascribed, however unjustly, to other motives than the disinterested desire for the propagation of truth, or of supposed truth, and a spirit of competition and rivalry would be excited, which every devout member of each of those Churches would earnestly deprecate.

"We should therefore propose to secure to each of the four Churches, not for a definite, but for an indefinite period, that share of the common fund which has been assigned to it under the existing arrangement. If at any future time the local Legislature of either province should see fit to endow any other Church than those four, or to augment the endowment of any one of the four, any such new or augmented endowment ought, we apprehend, to be made by an additional charge on the revenue of the province, and not by a deduction from the revenue of any one of the four endowed Churches. Whatever fluctuations may occur in the comparative numbers of the members of those Churches, the steady and rapid increase of the population of the Australian Colonies renders it eminently improbable that the absolute wants of any one of those Churches will ever be less than they are at present, or that the existing endowment of any one of them will ever be found to be excessive.

"In giving this permanent character to the existing apportionment, it seems however necessary to guard against one error which has already been brought to light. That apportionment was founded on the census of 1841. But there is reason to conclude that the subsequent census of 1846 was not only taken with much greater care, but was drawn up with much greater accuracy, and affords a much safer basis on which to erect a scheme of indefinite duration. We subjoin a schedule showing the results of the census of 1846, as far as respects the numerical proportion

between the adherents of the different Churches. From that schedule it will appear that the present apportionment of the fund for the support of public worship is less favourable to the other endowed Churches, as compared to the Church of England, than according to the census of 1846 it ought to be. In pursuance of the principle already stated, we propose that Parliament should be recommended to redress that inequality, not by a deduction from the share of the latter, but by an additional charge on the public revenue. Such a charge would not be of great amount, and would not raise the whole appropriation for public worship to the same proportion to the existing resources of New South Wales, as that which subsisted between the former appropriation for that service, and the resources of the Colony at the time when it was made.

"In distributing between New South Wales and Victoria the total amount of the proposed annual charge for public worship, we apprehend that in pursuance of the principle of respecting, as far as possible, all vested interests and existing arrangements, the census of 1846 should be taken as the guide to be followed. We therefore propose that the proportion of the grant for each of the four Churches to be charged on the revenue of each province respectively, should be determined by the comparative numbers of the members of these Churches in the two districts at the time the census was made. We add, in an Appendix to this Report, a schedule, showing the amount which, following this rule, would be charged on the revenues of both provinces in favour of the several Churches.

"With regard to Van Diemen's Land and South Australia, in neither of which Colonies has any Parliamentary provision been made for the support of public worship, we conceive that it will be sufficient that Parliament should

now provide that the proposed Act shall not in any manner interfere with the operation of the laws existing on that subject in either of those Colonies; but that those laws shall continue in force as fully as if no such Act had been passsed.

"Passing to the subject of a Civil List, we have to observe that the very large proportion of the revenue of New South Wales, at present withdrawn from the control of the Legislature by the permanent appropriation of Parliament, has been a continual subject of complaint and remonstrance in the Colony since the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1842; and we cannot conceal our opinion that these complaints are not without some foundation. It appears to us hardly consistent with the full adoption of the principles of Representative Government, that as to a large part of the public expenditure of the Colony, the Legislature should be deprived of all authority; nor does there appear to us to be any real occasion for imposing a restriction upon the powers of that body which manifests so much jealousy as to the manner in which those powers may be exercised. The expenditure thus provided for is all incurred for services in which the Colonists alone are interested. The Colonists themselves are mainly concerned in the proper and efficient performance of those services; and it appears to us that they ought to possess, through their representatives, the power of making such changes from time to time in the public establishments as circumstances may require. But while we are of opinion that there is no sufficient reason for refusing to the Legislatures of the Colonies a control over the whole of their expenditure, we also think that great inconvenience and very serious evils might be expected to arise from leaving the whole of the public establishments to be provided for

by annual vote. In this country Your Majesty's Civil List is settled upon Your Majesty for life, and, in addition to this, Parliament has thought fit to provide, by a permanant charge on the Consolidated Fund, for a very considerable part of the establishments kept up for the public service, including the whole of those of a judicial character, leaving to be defrayed by annual votes those charges only which have been regarded as requiring the more frequent revision of the Legislature. The reasons which have induced the British Parliament in this manner to withdraw various heads of expenditure from annual discussion, and to make provision for them in a manner which can only be altered by an Act of the whole Legislature, apply, as we apprehend, with much increased force in favour of adopting a similar policy in the Colonies. It is not be denied that in these smaller societies party spirit is apt to run still higher than amongst ourselves, and that questions respecting the remuneration of public servants are occasionally discussed, rather with reference to personal feelings than to a calm consideration of the real interest of the community. We believe also, that true economy is promoted by giving to those who are employed in the public service some reasonable assurance for the permanence of their official incomes. It is thus only that efficient service can be secured in return for a moderate remuneration. With these views the arrangement which we should recommend is, that Parliament should, in the first instance, charge upon the revenues of the several Colonies an amount sufficient to defray the expense of those services which it would be inexpedient to leave to be provided for by annual votes of the respective Legislatures, leaving however to those Legislatures full power to alter this appropriation by laws to be passed in the usual form. It would remain for

Your Majesty to determine what instructions should be given to the governors of these Colonies, as to their assenting on behalf of the Crown to any laws which might be tendered to them by the Legislatures, for repealing or altering any of the charges created by Parliament on the revenues of the respective Colonies. We conceive that it might be advisable by such instructions to restrain the Governors from assenting to Acts making any alterations in the salaries of their own offices, or of those of the Judges and some others of the public servants, unless these Acts contained clauses suspending their operation until they should be confirmed by Your Majesty's immediate authority. It appears to us that this course ought to be adopted, because we consider that the salaries of the principal officers of the Colonial Governments ought not to be changed without Your Majesty's direct concurrence; and because the present holders of some of the offices of lower rank have received their appointments under circumstances which give them a strong claim to the protection which would be thus afforded to them. Men who have abandoned other prospects for the purpose of accepting Colonial employment, which they had reason to expect would be permanent, and who have since faithfully discharged their duties, must be regarded as having claims which rest upon the grounds of public faith, and on contracts which on their side have hitherto been strictly fulfilled, to retain their present salaries, so long as they shall conduct themselves properly, or to receive adequate compensation for their loss. We doubt not that such claims would be respected by the local Legislatures, whatever reductions they might see fit to make in other cases: but we think that Your Majesty ought to secure them even from the risk of a hasty and ill-considered decision to their prejudice, occasioned by some temporary

excitement; subject to these qualifications, we are of opinion that complete control over the Colonial expenditure ought to be given to the respective Legislatures.

"There yet remains a question of considerable difficulty. By far the larger part of the revenue of the Australian Colonies is derived from duties on customs. But if, when Victoria shall have been separated from New South Wales, each province shall be authorized to impose duties according to its own wants, it is scarcely possible but that in process of time differences should arise between the rates of duty imposed upon the same articles in the one and in the other of them. There is already such a difference in the tariffs of South Australia and New South Wales; and although, until of late, this has been productive of little inconvenience, yet with the increase of settlers on either side of the imaginary line dividing them, it will become more and more serious. The division of New South Wales into two Colonies would further aggravate this inconvenience, if the change should lead to the introduction of three entirely distinct tariffs, and to the consequent necessity for imposing restrictions and securities on the import and export of goods between them. So great indeed would be the evil, and such the obstruction of the inter-colonial trade, and so great the check to the development of the resources of each of these Colonies, that it seems to us necessary that there should be one tariff common to them all, so that goods might be carried from the one into the other with the same absolute freedom as between any two adjacent counties in England.

"We are further of opinion that the same tariff should be established in Van Diemen's Land also, because the intercourse between that Island and the neighbouring Colonies in New Holland has risen to a great importance and

extent, and has an obvious tendency to increase. Yet fiscal regulations on either side of the intervening strait must of necessity check, and might perhaps to a great extent destroy, that beneficial trade.

"If the duties were uniform, it is obvious that there need be no restrictions whatever imposed upon the import or export of goods between the respective Colonies, and no motive for importing into one goods liable to duty, which were destined for consumption in another; and it may safely be calculated that each would receive the proportion of revenue to which it would be justly entitled, or, at all events, that there would be no departure from this to an extent of any practical importance.

"Hence it seems to us that a uniformity in the rate of duties should be secured.

"For this purpose we recommend that a uniform tariff should be established by the authority of Parliament, but that it should not take effect until twelve months had elapsed from the promulgation in the several Colonies of the proposed Act of Parliament. That interval would afford time for making any financial arrangements which the contemplated change might require in any of them; and by adopting the existing Tariff of New South Wales (with some modifications to adapt it to existing circumstances) as the General Tariff for Australia, we apprehend that there would be no risk of imposing upon the inhabitants of these Colonies a table of duties unsuited to their actual wants. We should not however be prepared to offer this recommendation, unless we proposed at the same time to provide for making any alteration in this general tariff, which time and experience may dictate, and this we think can only be done by creating some authority competent to act for all those Colonies jointly.

"For this purpose we propose that one of the Governors of the Australian Colonies should always hold from Your Majesty a commission constituting him the Governor-General of Australia. We think that he should be authorized to convene a body to be called the General Assembly of Australia, at any time and at any place within Your Majesty's Australian dominions which he might see fit to appoint for the purpose. But we are of opinion that the first convocation of that body should be postponed until the Governor-General should have received from two or more of the Australian Legislatures addresses requesting him to exercise that power.

"We recommend that the General Assembly should consist of the Governor-General and of a single House, to be called the House of Delegates. The House of Delegates should be composed of not less than twenty, nor of more than thirty members. They should be elected by the Legislatures of the different Australian Colonies. We subjoin a schedule explanatory of the composition of this body, that is, of the total number of delegates, and of the proportions in which each Colony should contribute to that number.

"We think that Your Majesty should be authorized to establish provisionally, and in the first instance, all the rules necessary for the election of the delegates, and for the conduct of the business of the General Assembly, but that it should be competent to that body to supersede any such rules, and to substitute others, which substituted rules should not, however, take effect until they had received Your Majesty's sanction.

"We propose that the General Assembly should also have the power of making laws for the alteration of the number of delegates, or for the improvement in any other

respect of its own Constitution. But we think that no such law should come into operation until it had actually been confirmed by Your Majesty.

"We propose to limit the range of the legislative authority of the General Assembly to the ten topics which we proceed to enumerate. These are:—

"1. The imposition of Duties on Imports and Exports.

"2. The Conveyance of Letters.

"3. The formation of Roads, Canals, or Railways, traversing any two or more of such colonies.

"4. The erection and maintenance of Beacons and Lighthouses.

"5. The Imposition of Dues or other Charges on Shipping in every Port or Harbour.

"6. The establishment of a General Supreme Court, to be a court of original jurisdiction, or a court of appeal for any of the inferior courts of the separate provinces.

"7. The determining of the extent of the jurisdiction and the forms and manner of proceeding of such Supreme Court.

"8. The regulation of Weights and Measures.

"9. The enactment of laws affecting all the Colonies represented in the General Assembly on any subject not specifically mentioned in the preceding list, but on which the General Assembly should be desired to legislate by addresses for that purpose presented to them from the Legislatures of all those Colonies.

"10. The appropriation to any of the preceding objects of such sums as may be necessary, by an equal percentage from the revenue received in all the Australian Colonies, in virtue of any enactments of the General Assembly of Australia.

"By these means we apprehend that many important

objects would be accomplished which would otherwise be unattainable; and by the qualifications which we have proposed, effectual security would, we think, be taken against the otherwise danger of establishing a central Legislature in opposition to the wishes of the separate Legislatures, or in such a manner as to induce collisions of authority between them. The proceedings also of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, with reference to the proposed changes in the Constitution, lead us to infer that the necessity of creating some such general authority for the Australian Colonies begins to be seriously felt."

SCHEDULE 1.

	Distribution of £30,000 according to Census of 1841 (existing arrangement).	Distribution of £30,000 according to Census of 1846.	Sums which, according to the Census of 1846, will correspond with the sum now enjoyed by the Church of England, according to the Census of 1841.
	1	2	3
In the present undivided Colony of New South Wales	£ s. d.	£	£
Church of England	17,581 2 4	15,715	17,581
„ Rome	8,510 14 6	9,333	10,441
„ Scotland	3,136 9 11	3,634	4,066
Wesleyans	771 13 3	1,316	1,472
Total	29,998 0 0	29,998	29,998

Distribution of the Sums in Column 3 *between New South Wales (present Sydney District) and Victoria (present Port Philip District), according to the Census of* 1846.

	New South Wales.	Victoria.	Total.
	£	£	£
Church of England . . .	14,812	2,769	17,581
„ Rome	8,757	1,684	10,441
„ Scotland . . .	2,979	1,087	4,066
Wesleyans	1,176	296	1,472
Total	27,724	5,836	33,560

Census of 1841 *and* 1846, *upon which the above calculations are founded.*

	1841.		1846.	
Church of England :—				
Sydney District . . .	67,537		79,810	
Port Philip District .	6,190		14,921	
		73,727		94,731
Church of Rome :—				
Sydney District . . .	33,249		47,187	
Port Philip District .	2,441		9,075	
		35,690		56,262
Church of Scotland :—				
Sydney District . . .	11,009		16,053	
Port Philip District .	2,144		5,856	
		13,153		21,909
Wesleyans :—				
Sydney District . . .	2,586		6,338	
Port Philip District .	650		1,597	
		3,236		7,935

SCHEDULE 2.

Composition of the House of Delegates.

Each Colony to send two members, and each to send one additional member for every 15,000 of the population, according to the latest census before the convening of the House.

On the present population the numbers would be as follows:—

	Population by last Census.	Number of Members.
New South Wales	155,000	12
Victoria	33,000	4
Van Diemen's Land (deducting convicts)	46,000	5
South Australia	31,000	4
		25

"Her Majesty having taken the said Report, together with the Schedules thereunto annexed, into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, to approve thereof.

"(Signed) W. L. BATHURST."

Copy of a Despatch from Earl Grey to Governor Sir C. A. Fitzroy.

"*Downing-street, August* 30, 1850.

"SIR,

"The Act for the better Government of Her Majesty's Australian Colonies having at length received the Royal assent, it is with much satisfaction that I have now the honour of transmitting it to you. It was my earnest desire to have been enabled to do so at an earlier period; but the delay which has occurred in finally enacting this measure

has been attended with this advantage, that it has given room for the thorough and repeated discussion of its provisions, both in Parliament and by the various organs of public opinion in the Colonies. These protracted discussions, and the detailed Report of the Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, of which you are already in possession, and of which the recommendations have been closely followed in this Act, must have rendered both its principle and its details so well known to yourself and the public, that it is necessary for me, on the present occasion, to do little more than advert to some of the changes which the measure underwent during its progress through Parliament.

"These changes, with one or two exceptions only, which I will presently notice, involve no departure from the fundamental principle of the measure, which is that of maintaining the existing Constitution of New South Wales, with as little alteration as possible, in the separate Colonies into which it is now about to be divided, and extending that Constitution to the other Colonies to which representative Constitutions are, under this Act, to be granted.

"The reasons which induced Her Majesty's Government to take this course in the first instance, and to adhere to it notwithstanding the objections which were urged against it in Parliament, have been fully stated in the report already alluded to, and in the debates which took place during the progress of this measure. We were of opinion that changes in an existing Colonial Constitution ought not to be made, without very strong reason, by the Legislature of the Mother-country. The supreme power with which the British Constitution invests that Legislature ought, in our judgement, to be thus exercised only when called for by a case of clear and urgent necessity, or of

great abuse, or by an authentic expression of the wishes of the community to be affected by the change. The proper authorities to introduce those gradual improvements which are really likely to be safe and profitable are those which may be brought into action by the natural development of the Colonial community itself. You are aware that, except in a very few cases which have occurred within the last century, the various forms of government established in the British Colonies have not been determined by Parliament, but have been settled by the Crown, in concert with the inhabitants of the Colonies, and that any alterations and amendments of the Constitution originally adopted have been effected from time to time as they have been required by the same authority.

"On full examination of the subject before them, Her Majesty's Government could find no evidence of any necessity, or of any abuse, which would, in their opinion, have justified a departure, with regard to New South Wales, from this principle of our early Colonial policy, by having recourse to the authority of Parliament in order to effect in the Constitution of that Colony a change which has not been demanded by its inhabitants. We were by no means insensible to the force of the arguments commonly adduced against legislation by a single Chamber. But, on the other hand, we were acquainted with the peculiar difficulties which, in the Australian Colonies, at present impede the attendance of members from distant districts, and render it unadvisable to adopt for their legislature a Constitution which would have increased the number of persons required for the satisfactory transaction of business. We could not discover in the record of the proceedings of the existing Legislature any reasons for supposing that it had substantially failed in its duty to its

constituents, or had worked in a manner disadvantageous to their interests and the progress of the community. The evidence in our possession seemed to lead to very different conclusions; and above all, we had no reason whatever to believe that the community were dissatisfied with the present Constitution of the Colony, nor any means of judging in what manner, if that Constitution were to be altered, it could be so with advantage and in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants. Though we were aware that in New South Wales, as elsewhere, there undoubtedly existed differences of opinion as to the best means of constituting a Legislature, yet we did not find, in the numerous petitions which the subject of this Act has elicited, any expressions whatever of discontent with that now established, or any prayer except for its substantial maintenance.

"But while thus maintaining the existing Constitution of New South Wales, Her Majesty's Government were, as I have stated, anxious to give to the Legislature the fullest power, consistent with safety, of amending that Constitution, and of modifying from time to time, without the intervention of Parliament, the political arrangements which may be suitable to existing circumstances, but which are likely to require adaptation to the changes which must take place in so rapidly advancing a society. The necessary powers for this purpose are given by Section 32 of the Act. You will observe that they extend, among other things, to the formation of two Chambers, of which one or both may be elective. The only restriction, in short, on the general power of alteration appears to be this, that, if the present single Chamber is retained, the proportion of elective and non-elective members cannot be varied, nor can the manner of appointment of the non-elective members be interfered with. The power of the existing Legis-

lature, of effecting minor alterations in the arrangements for the election of members of the first Legislative Councils of New South Wales and Victoria, is defined by Section 11. The control of Her Majesty's Government and of Parliament over the more extensive changes which may be hereafter made in the Constitution is provided for by the 32nd Section, which enacts that these changes shall only be effected by reserved bills.

"On the important subject of the use which may be made of these powers, it would be premature now to address you in detail. In my own opinion (strengthened undoubtedly by the general consent of the various petitions and addresses which have reached me in their expression of confidence in the existing Legislature), it would be most advisable to abide for a time by the Constitution as it now stands. I think that there will probably be more danger from the over-eagerness of some to make use of the power of change now placed in their hands, than from the reluctance of others to venture on untried experiments. I think, moreover, that the progress of most of the Australian Colonies is so rapid, and the changes both in the general frame of society and its component parts so continual, that any attempt to establish a more elaborate form of Legislature, if too hastily entered upon, is likely to be found defective in some unforeseen particular; so that another Legislature might probably find it necessary to commence the work of change anew, and that there would thus be danger of the institutions of the country becoming the subject of a succession of experiments, injurious to the public interest by the excitement they would be calculated to keep up, and by their tendency to divert public attention from measures of a more practical kind.

"These are the views which my observation of public

affairs, and especially of the course of events in Europe of late years, would lead me to impress on you; they are those of one deeply anxious for the continuance of that advance in material and moral prosperity, of which the Australian Colonies have on the whole exhibited so striking an example, but like all general views, they must be received subject to the exigencies of times and events.

"I have only to add, in reference to this part of the subject, that, under the definition of 'reserved bills,' given in Section 33, you will observe that you retain the power of refusing your consent to all bills, and are in no case under the necessity of reserving them for the signification of the Queen's pleasure, if you think them clearly inadmissible, and that they ought therefore to be at once rejected.

"The most important deviations from the general principle of leaving the existing Constitution unaltered are to be found in Section 4, which was introduced in the progress of the bill through the House of Lords. It was strongly urged on Parliament that the existing franchise was originally fixed on too high a scale, and that, from changes in the money value and distribution of property, it had become even more restricted than was contemplated. There existed, moreover, no legal means for the admission to the franchise of persons holding pasture licenses, or of persons residing beyond the boundaries of location. It is true that by this bill, as originally framed, the new Legislatures, after the division of the Colony, would have possessed the power of lowering the franchise, and of admitting these voters; but it was felt that leaving these changes to be effected by the exercise of this power must cause some delay in the redress of what was clearly shown by petitions and other representations to be felt as a practical grievance. If, moreover, the same franchise was to be fixed for the

several Colonies at the outset (and any other course would have been manifestly inconvenient), it was thought objectionable to establish one recognized as too high.

"You are therefore empowered, under Section 3, with the assistance of the existing Legislative Council of the whole Colony, to form new electoral divisions for both New South Wales and Victoria, admitting such districts as you think proper, without regard to the 'boundaries of location.' And the first election in each Colony will take place under the new franchise provided by Section 4.

"I will next direct your attention to the clauses of the Act which relate to the power of the Legislature as to the imposition of taxes and the appropriation of public money.

"The expenses of collecting the Revenue will be defrayed, as hitherto, out of the gross Revenue, and the charges incurred on this account will, for the present, continue to be audited as they now are in the manner which has been directed by the Commissioners of the Treasury, under Act 7 and 8 Vict., c. 72. But in my Circular Despatch of the 8th instant, I have informed you that the management of the establishment of customs is henceforth to be placed under the Local Government, and the Lords of the Treasury concur with me in the desire that the Local Legislature should have the fullest information respecting the details of the charges on the gross Revenue for the cost of collection. I enclose, for your information and guidance, the copy of a letter from the Treasury on this subject.

"The effect of Sections 13, 17, and 18, is to give the Legislature a considerably increased control over that part of the Colonial expenditure now charged on what is called the Civil List. The Legislatures will have the power to alter, by Acts passed for that purpose, all or any of the sums specified in the schedules. In the case of these

alterations affecting the salary of the Governor, or the appropriation for public worship, it is required by the present Act of Parliament that the Colonial Acts should be reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure.

"In the former Act there was a power given to the Governor, by the 38th Section, of varying the sum appropriated to the purposes of Schedule B, and the savings accruing from such alteration were exempted from the control of the Legislative Council. This latter proviso has been omitted in the present Act, as there appeared to be no sufficient reason why the ordinary power of the Legislative body should not extend to these particular savings.

"This extension of the authority of the Legislature has been rendered expedient in the view of Her Majesty's Government, by the evidence of the hitherto successful progress of Constitutional Government. The manner in which the people of New South Wales have hitherto exercised the powers they possessed through their Representatives seemed fully to justify the grant of the enlarged power which will now be entrusted to them in relation to their financial affairs; but it has been deemed right by Parliament, in order the more completely to maintain the independence of the Judges of the Supreme Court, to provide that no diminution of judicial salaries by Colonial enactments shall affect Judges appointed previously to the passing of such enactment.

"All other salaries, except those of the Governor and Judges, are placed by Parliament under the ordinary control of the Legislature. With regard to the mode of exercising this control, you will however observe that reductions of fixed establishments, or of any expenditure provided for by permanent laws, can only be effected by Acts of the Legislature, which of course require the assent of the

Crown, signified by yourself, and confirmed by Her Majesty; but I wish you distinctly to understand that there is no desire on the part of Her Majesty's Government to prevent prospective reductions of charges which, in the opinion of the Colonists, will safely admit of being diminished. The interests of existing office-holders must be protected, because they accepted those offices with expectations which cannot justly be disappointed. But, subject to these interests, there is no objection to the Legislature fixing whatever scale of emoluments they may think fit for public servants to be hereafter appointed. I should, for my own part, consider it highly injudicious to reduce the salary of an office so as to render it no longer an object of ambition to men of ability and of respectable station. But this is a matter in which the interests of the Colonists only are involved, as they will be the sufferers from any failure to provide adequate remuneration for those by whom the public service is carried on; the determination, therefore, of what is sufficient must be left to the Legislatures, with whom will rest the responsibility for the judicious exercise of the power.

"I consider it, however, absolutely essential that, whatever may be the rate of payment, the salaries of all the principal officers of the Government should, for the reasons stated in the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, be permanently granted; that is, not voted from year to year, but provided for in the same manner as charges on the Consolidated Fund in this country by Acts, and therefore only susceptible of alteration by Acts of the Legislature passed in the ordinary manner, with the consent of the Crown. You will therefore understand that you are not at liberty to give the assent of the Crown to any Act which may be passed reducing the salaries of those who are

now in the public service, or rendering dependent on annual votes any of the charges now provided for by permanent appropriations. Any Acts of this sort you will reserve for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure, unless you consider them so manifestly objectionable as to call for their rejection. Subject to this restriction you are authorized to exercise your own judgement in giving or withholding your assent from Acts for the reduction of the fixed charges on the Colonial Revenue.

"With regard to the Land Revenue, I am aware that much jealousy has existed of its being appropriated, as it hitherto has been, by the Authority of the Crown, and it is therefore necessary that I should explain that though the Act of Parliament which I now transmit to you makes no alteration in the existing law upon the subject, Her Majesty's Government have no desire to exercise any control over the appropriation of this Revenue beyond that which is necessary in order to ensure its being expended on the objects to which it is legitimately applicable, and in a manner consistent with justice towards those from whom it is raised. But this Revenue is of a very different character from that which is raised by taxation; and my views with regard to it will be best explained by the enclosed copy of a Despatch which I have lately had occasion to address to the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land. The principles there stated are, with very slight modification, applicable to New South Wales. The most important differences between the two Colonies are—first, that in New South Wales the expenditure of half the income derived from the sale of land on emigration, as required by the Land Sales Act, is, in the absence of any other source from which a sufficient supply of labour could be obtained, an appropriation of this fund which tends directly to in-

crease the value of the land from the sale of which it is derived; and, secondly, that in Van Diemen's Land there is no longer occasion for any expenditure on account of the aboriginal natives, while in New South Wales the cost of the best arrangements which can be made for their protection and civilization ought to be regarded as a charge prior to all others on the Revenue derived from the appropriation of the lands of which they were the original inhabitants. After providing for this charge and those incurred on account of surveys and the cost of collection, such proportion of the Revenue derived from the sale or leasing of the Crown lands as is not required for emigration, ought, as far as possible, to be applied in Local Improvements in the district in which it arises; and I propose communicating with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury on the steps which should be adopted in order to carry these views into effect.

"The provisions of the Act respecting District Councils, which are closely connected with the subject to which I have just adverted, appear to require no further explanation, as they are in exact conformity with the detailed recommendations of the Report of the Committee of Privy Council.

"The effect of Sections 27 and 31 is to give the several Legislatures that full power, which is understood to have been hitherto curtailed by the restrictions of various Acts of Parliament, to impose such customs-duties as they may think fit, provided only that they are not of a differential kind, and do not contravene certain other regulations of minor importance.

"The provisions of Section 29 were introduced on account of doubts which appeared to exist, whether a Supreme Court could be established in the new Colony of Victoria

without contravening the enactments of former statutes, and whether full liberty to make alterations in the existing Supreme Courts would, without these provisions, have been vested in the Legislatures of the altered Colony of New South Wales and of Van Diemen's Land. The effect of the clause is, that complete freedom of action in this respect is left to the several Legislatures, and that the Legislature of Victoria may either continue for the present the judicial arrangement now in force, or proceed forthwith to establish a new one.

"The boundary between New South Wales and Victoria is the same with that now existing between the Sydney and Port Philip districts. The mode by which any alteration is to be effected is pointed out in Section 30. In the case of one Legislature only petitioning, the Privy Council cannot take such a petition into consideration until six months after notice of the petition has reached the Legislature which has not petitioned: a provision which appears to afford ample opportunity for any counter petition.

"The provisions of Sections 34 and 35 were introduced on consideration of the peculiar circumstances of that large and important portion of the Colony which lies to the northward, particularly in the direction of Moreton Bay. The centre of the peopled part of that district is as far from Sydney as Melbourne itself; and it is impossible not to foresee that the same inconveniences which have led to the separation of Victoria from New South Wales, may at no distant time be felt in the north. It has been thought, therefore, expedient that the Crown should possess the power of forming a new Colony or Colonies so as to include Moreton Bay, and of communicating representative institutions to the inhabitants of any district so divided from New South Wales. But this power is only to be exercised

on petition from the householders of the territory affected by the arrangement. Her Majesty's Government can have no interest in promoting the formation of any such new Colony, and the clauses adverted to merely secure the means of carrying into execution the distinct wish of the inhabitants themselves.

"The clauses giving power for the establishment under certain circumstances of a General Assembly for two or more of the Colonies were omitted from the bill in its progress through the House of Lords. This omission was not assented to by Her Majesty's Government in consequence of any change of opinion as to the importance of the suggestions on this point which are contained in the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council. But it was found on examination that the clauses in question were liable to practical objections, to obviate which it would have been necessary to introduce amendments entering into details of Legislation which there were no means of satisfactorily arranging without further communication with the Colonies.

"Her Majesty's Government have been the less reluctant to abandon for the present this portion of the measure which they proposed, inasmuch as even in New South Wales it appeared, as far as they could collect the opinion which prevails on the subject, not to be regarded as of immediate importance, while in the other Colonies objections had been expressed to the creation of any such authority.

"I am not, however, the less persuaded that the want of some such central authority to regulate matters of common importance to the Australian Colonies will be felt, and probably at a very early period; but when this want is so felt, it will of itself suggest the means by which it may be met. The several Legislatures will, it is true, be unable at once to give the necessary authority to a General As-

sembly, because the Legislative power of each is confined of necessity within its territorial limits; but if two or more of these Legislatures should find that there are objects of common interest for which it is expedient to create such an authority, they will have it in their power, if they can settle the terms of an arrangement for the purpose, to pass Acts for giving effect to it, with clauses suspending their operation until Parliament shall have supplied the authority that is wanting. By such Acts the extent and objects of the powers which they are prepared to delegate to such a body might be defined and limited with precision, and there can be little doubt that Parliament, when applied to in order to give effect to an arrangement so agreed upon, would readily consent to do so.

"In framing the Schedules to this Act, some difficulty was necessarily experienced from the imperfection of the materials at the command of Her Majesty's Government for ascertaining distinctly the division of the existing appropriations between the services of New South Wales and Port Philip. We had no wish to increase the sum reserved by way of Civil List, but we felt that it was above all desirable that no existing interest should be sacrificed, or placed in a less secure position than at present. This circumstance, and the inevitable increase in the establishment of Victoria on being raised to a separate Government, have produced an augmentation of nearly £12,000 on the whole amount of the charge for the fixed establishment. But if you find on examination that the amount required for any particular services, and charged on the Civil List, has been unnecessarily added to in the process of framing these Schedules, so that there is a surplus at your command consistently with justice to existing interests, the Act provides the means of making a reduction accordingly.

"I have now gone through all the observations which appear to be requisite in order to fully explain to you the details of the measure which has just received the sanction of Parliament, and which it will be your duty to take the necessary steps for bringing into operation at as early a period as may be practicable. I have only in conclusion to assure you that in framing this measure and recommending it to Parliament, Her Majesty's Government have had no other object in view but that of establishing in the Australian Colonies a system of government founded on the same principles of well-regulated freedom, under which the inhabitants of this country have enjoyed so large a measure of security and of prosperity, and under which the British Empire has risen to so high a pitch of greatness and of power. It is my earnest and confident hope that by this Act of Parliament, the foundation is laid upon which institutions may gradually be raised, worthy of the great nation of British origin which seems destined rapidly to rise up in the Southern hemisphere, and to spread our race and our language, and carry the power of the British Crown over the whole of the vast territory of Australia.

"I have, etc.,

"*Sir C. A. Fitzroy,* (Signed) GREY."

"*etc., etc.*"

Enclosure.

Earl Grey to Sir William Denison.

"*Downing-street, July* 27, 1850.

"SIR,

"In my Despatch on the general subject of the finances of Van Diemen's Land, I have thought it right to reserve for separate consideration the general principles by which

the application of the Land Fund is to be governed. The question is one of so much importance that I am anxious that my views upon it should be thoroughly understood. I will accordingly proceed now to explain them. The money derived from sales of land I regard not as constituting a part of the Revenue of the Colony, in the proper sense of the word, since these receipts do not periodically recur, but arise from the permanent alienation of part of the public property, and ought therefore to be dealt with as capital to be invested in the accomplishment of objects of permanent public benefit. The proper object also of disposing of land by sale instead of by free grant, according to my view of the subject, is that of regulating the distribution of the Crown Lands among those who will turn them to the best account, not that of realizing a large sum of money for general purposes. Experience has demonstrated that when a Colony is in progress of settlement, if land is disposed of either by free grants or by sales at a low price, no precautions can prevent its being engrossed by persons who acquire possession of it, not with a view to its occupation and improvement, but on the speculation of deriving a profit from its increase in value as the Colony advances in wealth and population. In the meantime, land thus left unimproved, is a great obstacle to the general progress of the Colony, and the settlement of emigrants is checked and discouraged by the high price they are compelled to pay for land to the speculators by whom it has been bought up. This evil is guarded against by selling land at a price too high to allow of its being acquired with any expectation of profit by persons who mean to let it lie idle. But as the object of imposing such a price is to ensure the gradual distribution of land to settlers as it is wanted, it has always been my opinion that the sums received for it should be

applied in such a manner as to add to the value of the land to purchasers who mean really to occupy and improve it. The popular objections to the comparatively high price which has for some years been required for the Crown Lands in the Australian Colonies would in my judgement be well founded, and it would be highly impolitic to withdraw from settlers so much of their available capital, if this money were not in fact restored to them by its being applied in such a manner as to increase the value of the land they acquire. With this view, in the other Australian Colonies, half the sums so received are by law devoted to the introduction of emigrants, by which a supply of labour is obtained, and a value is given to the land which it would not otherwise possess. In Van Diemen's Land it is not necessary, as there is an abundant supply of labour from another source, to apply any of the receipts from the sale of land directly to this purpose; but upon the same principle they ought to be applied to public works, such as roads, bridges, and buildings, which will conduce to the profitable occupation of the lands alienated. The Committee of Privy Council on the proposed Constitutions of the Australian Colonies has advised, that whenever local bodies are constituted representing the inhabitants of the different districts, the application of half the Land Fund to objects of this kind should take place under their superintendence. I am strongly impressed with the importance of adopting this recommendation, and I should anxiously desire to see the establishment of such municipal bodies at the earliest possible period; and whenever they are established, it would be highly expedient that the expenditure of a portion of the Land Fund, in the manner I have described, should take place under their direction, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor. In the meantime this application

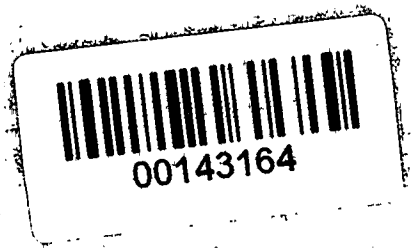
of the money should take place under the directions of the Government, since, if it were placed at the disposal of the Legislature, it is almost certain that due regard would not be shown to the interests of the inhabitants of the remoter districts, whence it is principally derived, who are too few to have much influence in that body. In Van Diemen's Land, in consequence of the absence of any considerable demands for emigration, a larger proportion of the Fund ought probably to be applied locally than in the other Colonies; still a certain proportion of it ought, I think, to be retained for purposes of a similar character, but of more general advantage,—such as improvements of the great lines of communication, and of the principal harbours,—by which the general trade of the Colony may be benefited. These instructions must, however, be regarded as subject to those contained in another Despatch which I have this day addressed to you, and in which I have informed you that instalments of £5000 annually, in payment of the Colonial Debt to this country, must constitute a first charge on the Land Revenue.

"I have, etc.,

"*Sir W. Denison,* (Signed) GREY."
"*etc., etc.*"

END OF VOLUME I.

JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR, PRINTER,
LITTLE QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.


00143164

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016